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GANDHĀRAN BUDDHISM

Edited by Pia Brancaccio and Kurt Behrendt

Gandhāran Buddhism

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Photo on facing page by Ellen Raven.

To the memory of Maurizio Taddei



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Acknowledgments

The chapters in this volume represent a unique effort to define the nature of Buddhism in Gandhāra from a multidisciplinary perspective. Phyllis Granoff, Koichi Shinohara, and Neil Kreitman were the architects of this endeavor, and we cannot thank them enough. They had the clarity of vision to recognize that only a cross-disciplinary approach could advance our understanding of Gandhāran Buddhism. Their great enthusiasm and dedication are at the core of this project, when they brought together so many eminent scholars at a conference at McMaster University and the University of Toronto in May 1999. This publication also would not have been possible without the enlightened support of the Yehan Numata Foundation, the Buddha Dharma Kyokai Foundation of Canada, the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, and the Office of the Provost and Department of Religious Studies at McMaster University.

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We fondly remember the pleasant atmosphere and the lively discussions at the conference, and it is sad to realize that one of the participants has left us forever. It is to the memory of Maurizio Taddei that we dedicate this volume.

Gandhāran Buddhism

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Introduction

Pia Brancaccio and Kurt Behrendt

The field of Gandhāran studies has been remarkably active in the last decade, with the discovery of new inscriptions, text fragments, sites, and artworks inviting scholarly reassessment. This volume is published at a time when various new pieces of the Gandhāran puzzle are being put together, redefining the way we understand this region and its cultural complexity. If we are to capture the multifaceted nature of the Gandhāran tradition and its prominent Buddhist heritage, it is essential to bridge disciplinary boundaries. The essays collected in this volume focus on issues overlooked by past scholarship and bring new evidence to the forefront to establish a productive dialogue for future investigation.

To assess the contributions of art, archaeology, and text to Gandhāran Buddhism, it is essential to understand what the term *Gandhāra* has come to define. The region named Gandhāra, as identified by ancient sources, encompassed the basin surrounding the modern city of Peshawar in Pakistan, bounded to the north and west by foothills, to the east by the Indus River, and to the south by flatlands that become increasingly arid (see Figures 5.1–5.4 in this volume).[1] In the nineteenth century, the word *Gandhāran* was also used to describe finds coming from a series of culturally related areas beyond the Peshawar plains, such as the Swāt valley, the Buner and Taxila regions, eastern Afghanistan, and even parts of Kashmir. Interest in Gandhāra was sparked in the West in the late nineteenth century as collections of coins, reliquaries, and sculptures were assembled by adventurers such as Charles Masson, who worked outside the boundaries of British colonial control, and by British military units who amassed objects during punitive raids into "tribal areas."[2] This material, kept in colonial museums such as the Indian Museum in Calcutta and the British Museum in London, lost record of its precise provenance and was generically labeled as Gandhāran, thus shifting the meaning of the word from a precise geographical designation to a broad cultural one.

In recent years, scholars have attempted to resolve the ambiguity of the term *Gandhāra* in an effort to capture the synergy of local forces that contributed to the formation of a complex cultural network. Modern geographic designations are now consistently employed to overcome generalization, and with much the same intent Richard Salomon proposed the term *Greater Gandhāra* to describe this vast cultural region.[3] The ancient accounts of Buddhist Chinese pilgrims and traveling monks also contribute to form a more precise picture of the extension of this area, its growth, and its decline, as Shoshin Kuwayama's critical readings have shown.[4] In Chapter 5 of this volume he maps the shifting centres of Buddhist activity in Greater Gandhāra between the fourth and eighth centuries CE.

The discovery and understanding of Gandhāra in the nineteenth century have shaped an enduring trajectory of study. The recovery of artworks in dialogue with the Classical tradition found at Buddhist sites resulted in a nearly exclusive focus on the excavation of Buddhist complexes. These sacred areas were so numerous and so rich that the sculpture recovered filled colonial museums and fed the notion that Gandhāra was synonymous with Buddhism. In the early twentieth century, a growing interest in the study of this religion continued to support the perception of Gandhāra as a Buddhist land, without questioning its context or the cultural dialectic that allowed it to flourish.

Buddhism and Archaeology

Some of the first "excavations" of Gandhāran Buddhist sites were undertaken in the 1830s by a handful of military officers with the goal of collecting coins.[5] Already by the late nineteenth century, Buddhist sites such as Takht-i-bāhī were excavated for their sculpture, and summary archaeological reports started to appear.[6] Alexander Cunningham, and later John Marshall at the beginning of the twentieth century, changed the nature and scope of Buddhist archaeology in Gandhāra.[7] Although their work led to a massive collection of sculptural remains, their primary interest was to understand better the Buddhist tradition in the region and beyond.

In the later part of the twentieth century, Pakistani, Italian, and Japanese teams carried out numerous excavations.[8] Maurizio Taddei, in Chapter 2 in this volume, critically surveys the relevant data brought to light by this archaeological work, unpacking with his usual sharp insight the relevant bodies of evidence and highlighting new avenues of investigation. Already since his regrettable death in 2000, important discoveries have been made. A Japanese team excavated the site of Zar Dheri in Hazara, bringing to light a monastic cell containing stored sculpture;[9] Pakistani archaeologists recovered fragments of wall paintings in a monastery at Jinna Wali Dheri, near Jauliāñ;[10] and Pakis-

tani teams continue to carry on extensive surveys that add to the current map of Buddhist sites.[11]

However, much of the archaeological evidence requires further study. A recent book by Kurt Behrendt surveys the Buddhist sacred areas of ancient Gandhāra in an effort to reassess their function and development.[12] His contribution in Chapter 4 offers a glimpse into the devotional practices of the region by identifying a body of previously unrecognized shrines that, he contends, displayed Buddhist relics. Also focusing on relics, Robert Brown in Chapter 8 traces an analogy between royal burials and stūpa deposits. He suggests that the donated treasures, the inscriptions, and the reliquaries, much like bodily remains, work as potent manifestations of the Buddha.

The excavation of urban centres in recent times has also helped to redefine the extent and relevance of Buddhism in the region. In Chapter 3, Pierfrancesco Callieri deals with the paradox of a Gandhāran landscape dominated by Buddhist centres while urban contexts are pervaded by small images of local deities, seemingly non-Buddhist. He takes this evidence to suggest that a missionary effort may have been the underlying force behind the extensive patronage of Buddhist sites during Kuṣāṇa times. John Rosenfield, Maurizio Taddei, Doris Meth Srinivasan, and others have dealt elsewhere with the presence of non-Buddhist religious traditions in the Gandhāran region, and have shown how Buddhist imagery incorporated some of these diverse ideas.[13] Anna Maria Quagliotti continues this investigation by providing in Chapter 10 an example of a specific brahmanic ritual depicted in Gandhāran narrative sculpture.

Already in the nineteenth century, on the basis of Indo-Greek and Kuṣāṇa numismatic finds, scholars recognized that diverse deities originating in South Asia, the Near East, and the Classical world were significant to the Greater Gandhāran community. However, the vast archaeological remains indicate that under the Kuṣāṇas, Buddhism was the dominant religion in the area. John Rosenfield has shed light on how the Kuṣāṇa world conceptualized different cultural forces and integrated them within the Buddhist tradition of the time. In Chapter 1, he reassesses the field of "Kushanology," taking into account the many changes this area of study has undergone since the publication of his seminal book *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans*.

The chronological parameters of the Kuṣāṇa rule relevant to the study of Gandhāran Buddhism have been the object of much debate in past scholarship. Recent discoveries and scholarly breakthroughs have finally provided answers to unsolved questions. The reading of a new Kuṣāṇa inscription from Rabatak in Afghanistan has clarified the dynastic lineage and identified a new ruler.[14] A compelling new argument for the date of Kaniṣka's era has been offered by Harry Falk, who uses, in addition to the available epigraphic and

numismatic sources, an early astrological text.[15] These advances solidly anchor Gandhāran chronology and allow us to relate the Buddhist tradition of the region to those of its neighbors.

Buddhism and Art

The vast quantity of Buddhist sculpture collected in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, although severed from its archaeological context, provides valuable information about the religious community. Buddhist art reflects the receptivity of Gandhāra to diverse motifs that traveled with goods along the trade routes linking South Asia, China, and the West. This is the theme of the chapter by Doris Meth Srinivasan, who through sculptural representations of textiles, ornaments, and furniture attempts to clarify the relationships among local taste, craft production, and international trade.

Although we know something about the cultural environment in which the art was produced, we are left with little evidence regarding sculptural production and its patronage. In a handful of instances, images bear inscriptions mentioning the names of lay and monastic donors and occasionally the religious motive for the offering.[16] Schopen and Salomon have recently re-examined the meaning and function of some of these donative inscriptions, which are surprisingly rare in Gandhāra compared to other regions of South Asia.[17]

More helpful is the rich visual documentation preserved in the narrative sculpture, where scenes from the Buddha's life are staged in the Gandhāran world. Reliefs showing the worship of stūpas, the veneration of images and relics, and the community honoring the figure of the Buddha all define the Gandhāran ethos. In Chapter 9 Pia Brancaccio examines a category of stūpa reliefs that record the multiethnic matrix of the Buddhist devotees in the region, and demonstrates how the local community was keen to show connections with the homeland of the Buddha in northern India.

Domenico Faccenna has observed this link with northern India in a recent article and in his new book on the Saidu Sharif I stūpa frieze.[18] Among the complex and varied issues related to the frieze, he notes the importance of regional workshops in Swāt.[19] This line of investigation marks a new direction in the field of study, as the identification of workshop production likely holds the key to establishing a relative chronological order for the vast body of Gandhāran sculpture.

Numismatic evidence also works with the Buddhist sculptural tradition, as shown by Ellen Raven in Chapter 13 of this volume. She maps the Buddha types appearing on coins and compares them with a range of sculptural prototypes, concluding that the Kuṣāṇa die carvers recorded in the coinage some of the iconographic variability of Gandhāran sculpture. Similarly, in a recent

article Robert Brown relates the sculptural evidence to a token found at the site of Tilya Tepe in Afghanistan, making a strong argument for the early appearance of a Buddha image.[20]

Traditionally the study of Gandhāran art has revolved around iconographic issues. Many questions are still open concerning the identification of scenes and characters within the narratives, as well as the classification of numerous freestanding Buddhas and bodhisattvas. In Chapter 12, Anna Filigenzi examines the enigmatic figure of Vajrapāṇi, who often appears with the Buddha in the reliefs, and suggests that this character is a Gandhāran transposition of Ānanda, the faithful attendant of the Buddha described in the Pāli texts. Juhyung Rhi deals in Chapter 7 with the iconographic variability among bodhisattva images, presents a typological analysis of bodhisattva iconography, and offers possible identifications, using a range of textual sources. The vexing issue of bodhisattva classification has also been addressed, using epigraphic evidence, in a recent article by Richard Salomon and Gregory Schopen.[21]

Crucial to a better understanding of the nature of Gandhāran Buddhism is the possible Mahāyāna affiliation of a large body of Gandhāran sculpture that Rhi advocates in his contribution. In Chapter 1, John Rosenfield addresses this long-debated issue in an effort to explain images such as the Mohammed Nari stele that have complex iconography (see fig. 1.5). The important textual evidence that has been appearing in recent years will, we hope, help us to decode the visual language of Gandhāran Buddhism.

Buddhism and Text

Our understanding of ancient Buddhism in different regions of Asia is largely based on textual sources; however, in Gandhāra the situation is quite different. Although this region is remarkably rich in Buddhist sculpture and architecture, it has yielded very few texts and inscriptions; thus our perception of Gandhāran Buddhism is based mostly on archaeological evidence. Since the nineteenth century, textual sources from China, Tibet, and Southeast Asia have been used by Gandhāran scholars with varying success. Among the most-used sources are the Chinese accounts by Faxian and Xuanzang, who wrote of their journey to Greater Gandhāra and India and are credited with bringing back authentic texts to their homeland.

The use of Chinese sources as keys to unlock the Gandhāran tradition has proved especially fruitful, as many sections of that Buddhist canon were translated in ancient times by monks coming from Greater Gandhāra. Shoshin Kuwayama's Chapter 5 in this volume provides us with valuable information about the biographies of many of these monk-translators, discussing their works, travels, and role as vehicles for transmission. Numerous Buddhist

birchbark manuscript fragments from Greater Gandhāra have surfaced recently, changing our understanding of the religious tradition in the region. Written in Kharoṣṭhī and Brāhmī script and composed over a period of more than 800 years, many of these incomplete documents appear to be early versions of known texts from other areas, and reflect particular moments of a developing Gandhāran faith. In Chapter 6, Richard Salomon focuses on groups of manuscripts written in the Gāndhārī language and Kharoṣṭhī script, likely from the first century CE and thus among the earliest original Buddhist texts known. He underlines how this body of primary material can shed light on local belief structures, and how it reflects a dimension not apparent in the artistic evidence. The birchbark fragments have drawn the attention of many other scholars, and major publications documenting this material have appeared recently.[22] In the years to come, these important works will undoubtedly redefine the field of Gandhāran studies and open new avenues of investigation.

Conclusion

Texts and archaeological and art-historical evidence are tesserae of a complex cultural mosaic: only by joining together a significant number of pieces can the picture be seen as a whole. This volume's collage of works shows that by stepping beyond disciplinary boundaries it is possible to push the field of Gandhāran Buddhist studies forward. It is our hope that future multidisciplinary endeavors will continue to expand our horizons.

NOTES

1 Behrendt, *Buddhist Architecture of Gandhāra*, 12; Zwalf, *Catalogue of Gandhāra Sculpture*, vol. 1, 12–13.
2 Errington, "Western Discovery of the Art of Gandhāra."
3 Salomon, *Ancient Buddhist Scrolls from Gandhāra*, 3.
4 Kuwayama, Chapter 5 in this volume.
5 Errington, "Western Discovery of the Art of Gandhāra," 32; C. Masson, "Memoir on the Buildings Called Topes."
6 Wilcher, "Report on the Exploration of the Buddhist Ruins at Takht-i-Bai."
7 Cunningham, "Jamāl Garhi," "Manikyala" (two papers), "Shahdheri or Taxila," "Taxila, or Takshasila"; Marshall, *Taxila*, 3 vols.
8 See Behrendt, *Buddhist Architecture of Gandhāra*, 19–21.
9 Siudmak, "Newsletter from Tokyo."
10 Iqbal, "Taxila: Gandhāra."
11 Ihsan Ali, personal communication.
12 Behrendt, *Buddhist Architecture of Gandhāra*, 1–11.
13 Many scholars have written on this topic, notably Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts of the Kushans*; Taddei, "Non-Buddhist Deities in Gandhāran Art"; Srinivasan, *Many Heads, Arms and Eyes.*
14 Sims-Williams and Cribb, "New Bactrian Inscription of Kaniṣka the Great"; Fussmann, "L'Inscription de Rabatak."

15 Falk, "The Yuga of Sphujiddhvaja."
16 Vogel, "Inscribed Gandhāra Sculptures."
17 Salomon and Schopen, "On an Alleged Reference to Amitābha."
18 Faccenna, *Saidu Sharif I*, 2.
19 Faccenna, "Early Evidence of Figurative Art," 287. See also Filigenzi, "Narrative Art in Gandhāra."
20 Brown, "Walking Tilya Tepe Buddha."
21 Salomon and Schopen, "On an Alleged Reference to Amitābha."
22 Braarvig, *Buddhist Manuscripts, Buddhist Manuscripts II;* von Hinuber, *Das ältere Mittelindische im Überblick*; Salomon, *Ancient Buddhist Scrolls from Gandhāra, A Gāndhārī Version of the Rhinoceros Sūtra,* "The Senior Manuscripts."

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1 Prologue: Some Debating Points on Gandhāran Buddhism and Kuṣāṇa History

JOHN M. ROSENFIELD

With utmost fanfare an international conference on the archaeology and culture of the Kuṣāṇa period was convened in 1968 in Dushanbe, capital of the then-Soviet Republic of Tajikistan. In a telegram sent to the opening session, Soviet Premier Alexei Kosygin proclaimed the conference to be the birth of the new science of Kushanology.[1] Believing perhaps that passage through the birth canal was not exciting enough, the organizers also announced sensational Soviet solutions to the crucial issue of dating the main Kuṣāṇa era (more on this below).

Mr. Kosygin's enthusiasm, admirable as it was, overlooked the fact that efforts to reconstruct the lost history of the Kuṣāṇa empire had been under way since H.H.Wilson's *Ariana Antiqua* of 1841.[2] In fact, the subject has long attracted scholars in many lands, for it explores one of the most creative eras of Eurasian history – as well as one of Eurasia's most crucial geographic regions, as the recent war in Afghanistan has again demonstrated. At the apogee of its power in the second century of the Common Era, the Kuṣāṇa empire (which was known to the Iranians as the Kushanshahr) extended from Gangetic India through the Punjab into Afghanistan, across the Hindu Kush and Pamir mountains, past the Amu Darya (Oxus River), and deep into present-day Tajikistan and Uzbekistan. It was also possibly linked with the mountain kingdom of Kashmir and the city-state of Khotan in the western Tarim Basin. At no time, however, did that empire resemble a modern nation-state controlling a well-defined domain. Though it maintained certain strongholds of its authority, its boundaries were indefinite and its sovereignty often rested on shifting alliances with regional lords. Indeed, the resemblance to recent military and political groupings in the same region is remarkable.

Through this vast realm passed trade routes joining China, Central Asia, Iran, India, and the eastern Mediterranean littoral. From India came the Hindu and Buddhist faiths, the latter spreading to China, Korea, and Japan. From the

Hellenized Middle East came such religious concepts as divine kingship and the syncretic fusion of diverse deities and cult practices, which had profound impact on Iran and India. Within the Kuṣāṇa empire lived astronomers, mathematicians, theologians, playwrights, poets, grammarians, logicians, and physicians who left indelible marks upon Asian civilization. Images carved in the sculpture workshops of this ancient realm are among the most eloquent and influential in the history of Buddhist art.

Amazingly, the recorded history of the Kushanshahr consists of little more than incidental comments in Chinese, Indian, and West Asian texts. Reconstructing its history, like that of the Māyās or the Hittites, has been a remarkable undertaking of modern empirical sciences, drawing on such diverse disciplines as field archaeology, numismatics, linguistics, epigraphy, Sinology, art history, and religious studies.[3] To coordinate data from so many fields, interdisciplinary conferences have often been organized; the first major one was held in 1913 in London;[4] others have followed,[5] and more will come.

Writing Kuṣāṇa history is like reconstructing a giant mosaic. Scholars have pieced together parts of the outer frame and a few internal configurations, but whole areas are still empty, and many fragments are abraded and ambiguous in meaning. Much progress has been made, but the inherent difficulties in this field are truly daunting. Evidence from one discipline often seems to contradict or conflict with that from another, and, as seen below, lively debates abound. Just as nature abhors a vacuum, however, the human mind rebels against such uncertainty and doubt, and scholars have often tried to force evidence into orderly configurations that fit their own preconceptions. The occasional discovery of new evidence sometimes speeds up the process of reconstruction, but substantial gains in Kuṣāṇa studies have often been the result of small, incremental steps.

The essays in this volume focus mainly on the Gandhāran Buddhist tradition as documented in art, archaeology, and epigraphy. Evidence comes mainly from the region around the market town of Peshāwar in the present-day Northwest Frontier Province of Pakistan. This was once the chief city of the ancient state of Gandhāra and, for a while, a centre of Kuṣāṇa power.[6] Hundreds of sculptures were discovered at ruined Buddhist sanctuaries near Peshāwar; most had been carved in hybrid styles that combined Indian, Hellenistic, Roman, and Parthian elements. Western archaeologists dubbed the styles Gandhāran, and when similar objects were discovered over the vast expanse of territory to the northwest once ruled by the Kuṣāṇas, they called that larger sphere Gandhāra (or Greater Gandhāra) as well. We must never, however, overlook the fact that the Kuṣāṇa state also extended far into the Gangetic basin, maintaining its main seat of power at Mathurā, along the Yamunā (or Jumnā) River, southeast of Delhi. Though the northern and

southern parts of the empire differed greatly in climate, ethnicity, and language, they were closely linked by political and religious institutions.[7]

Authors of the essays herein have adhered to the principles of sound empirical research; they make no claims of revolutionary discoveries, offer no revelations about the date of the main Kuṣāṇa era, engage in no discussions of the recently discovered Rabatak inscription. Working in their own specialties they patiently examine bits of evidence, seeking to join them together in an experimental fashion, and proposing new hypotheses. Important areas of the giant mosaic are clarified here, but unresolved problems remain, and this Prologue attempts to point out certain areas of debate and uncertainty.

Gandhāran Buddhism in Context

From remote antiquity, Gandhāra was a major centre of orthodox Indo-Āryan (i.e., Vedic) learning and social organization. It was also a frontier region astride major international trade routes, and was often subject to foreign invasion. Buddhism had spread into the region by the third century BCE, as evidenced by the results of excavations at Taxila and in Swāt.[8] The Kuṣāṇa occupation, which may have begun around 50 CE, seems to have encouraged the growth of that faith. By the late fifth century, however, Kuṣāṇa power had been destroyed and its ability to support the faith diminished, but dating the decline of Buddhism in the region is quite problematic. In Chapter 5, for example, S. Kuwayama proposes that the faith was thriving as late as the sixth century. Nonetheless, under the impact of successive waves of invasions from Central Asia and both the rise of Islam and the resurgence of Brahmanism, the faith gradually weakened. By approximately 1200 CE it had virtually vanished from areas once ruled by the Kuṣāṇas – as it had everywhere south of the Himalayas.

In both Gandhāra and Gangetic India, Buddhist communities seem to have welcomed former Central Asians such as the Śakas, Parthians, and Kuṣāṇas, and they in turn seem to have found in that religion a positive link with the local populace.[9] In fact, men and women in Central Asian dress are often depicted as devotees in Buddhist sculpture found throughout the region.[10] Of all the invading tribes, the Kuṣāṇas were the most powerful, and evidence of their patronage is abundant.[11] High-born men and women in Kuṣāṇa dress were depicted as donors in monasteries at Paitava and Shotorak, located in the hills surrounding Kapiśā, the Kuṣāṇa capital forty kilometers north of Kabul.[12] Chinese pilgrims described a stūpa and monastery in Peshāwar said to have been built by the mighty Kuṣāṇa sovereign Kaniṣka I; they proclaimed it the grandest monument in all India, and archaeologists have uncovered its foundations and a relic box inscribed with that ruler's name.[13] The name of his successor, Huviṣka, was attached to a large monastic complex at Mathurā.[14]

Less concrete evidence appears in Buddhist literary traditions claiming that Kaniṣka convened in Kashmir the third great council of the Buddhist faith, that he befriended the playwright Aśvaghoṣa, and that he was a zealous patron of the faith, a second Aśoka.[15]

As there is no confirmation of the legendary accounts, it is worth speculating whether Kaniṣka was in fact a devout Buddhist or whether the Buddhist community appropriated his name and reputation for its own purposes. Despite substantial evidence that the faith enjoyed Kuṣāṇa royal patronage, no reference whatsoever is made to Buddhism in the most substantial indications of Kuṣāṇa royal ideology, the inscriptions found at the Surkh Kotal and Rabatak dynastic shrines, and the inscribed sculptures excavated at the shrine at Māṭ, near Mathurā.[16] Archaeological evidence indicates that Kuṣāṇa sovereignty was rooted in a cult of kingship akin to those prevailing in Iran and West Asia, one in which the ruler was imbued with divine powers conferred by gods who protected the realm. Virtually none of the material found at the Kuṣāṇa dynastic shrines has been recognized as Buddhist in character.[17]

During the period under discussion here, Indian Buddhist art developed its own iconography of kingship at monastic sites in the Krishna River region of present-day Āndhra Pradesh – Amarāvatī, Jaggayyapeta, and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, for example. From all of those sites have come relief carvings that depict a Universal Monarch (*cakravartin*) (fig. 1.1) and seven emblems of traditional Indian monarchy: a wheel that signifies dominion, a great gem that emits light, a dauntless horse, a grand state elephant, an exquisite consort, a brave general, and a wise minister who may also be the crown prince.[18] In Buddhist doctrine, these appurtenances of secular authority accrue to a king who establishes the Buddhist dharma as the law of his realm; and the benefits of his rule are symbolized by the rain of coins seen falling from the clouds in fig. 1.1. These carvings, however, were intended as statements of ideals, not as propaganda for individual rulers. In fact, local sovereigns in the Āndhra region ruled according to Brahmanical principles; support for the Buddhist community came from their wives and ministers and from the laity.[19]

The ideal of the perfect monarch – reinforced by the memory of Aśoka Maurya – was a powerful ideological force in the evolution of kingship throughout Buddhist Asia. If any of the Kuṣāṇa rulers had wished to identify himself as a *cakravartin*, the symbols of that concept were available, at least in theory; none, however have been found anywhere in Kuṣāṇa dominions. Furthermore, Buddhist motifs are exceedingly rare on Kuṣāṇa coins, another major instrument of royal ideology. Images of Śākyamuni and Maitreya are found only on issues of Kaniṣka I, and they are significantly outnumbered and overshadowed in the polyglot pantheon of other deities – Greek, Roman, Iranian, Central Asian, and Indian.[20]



FIGURE 1.1. Buddhist ideal monarch (*cakravartin*) and seven emblems of sovereignty. Jaggayyapeta. White limestone. Madras Museum (after Burgess).

If Buddhism was an important ingredient in the religious life of the Kushanshahr, it was by no means the only one. In fact, the most prominent of all deities in all Kuṣāṇa coinage is a male figure usually identified as Śiva. He often has three faces, carries a staff topped by a trident, is accompanied by a bull, and is identified by inscription as Oešo.[21] By contrast, archeological sites in the Kushanshahr have yielded little evidence of monuments and sculptures devoted to Śiva prior to the fifth century CE, another example of the incongruities appearing in different types of evidence. The paucity of

archaeological material does not necessarily indicate a lack of popular worship of Śiva, however. In fact, Indian religious concepts long antedated the time when they were embodied in permanent, monumental forms of art and architecture.[22] Present-day India is replete with temple buildings and images, but "for the period in which the most original and exalted of India's religious texts were composed – the *Vedas*, *Brāhmaṇas*, *Upanishads* – and the time of the career of Śākyamuni himself, Indians carved no statue, built no temple, created no great palace which has survived to the present. Indeed, most evidence indicates that the making of such things was either unimportant or was anathema to the spiritual values which dominated Indian culture. This in itself is one of the most extraordinary facts in the entire history of art, and the reasons for it have never been thoroughly explored."[23]

Developments in early Indian art and theology followed separate timetables. Buddhists and Jains, who had rejected many of the precepts of orthodox Brahmanism, were the first to create sanctuaries and religious imagery in permanent materials. In fact, Jain sanctuaries flourished in Mathurā even before the arrival of the Kuṣāṇas, and Jain image worship there seems to have predated that of the Buddhists.[24] Jain votive images do not, however, appear on Kuṣāṇa coins or in Gandhāran sculpture. Among India's major religious communities, the Hindus were the last to develop large-scale architecture and sculpture, as at Deogarh, Aihole, and Bādāmī dating to the sixth and seventh centuries CE.

One of the most powerful motive forces in Kuṣāṇa-period spiritual life was the indigenous Indian practice known as *bhakti* ("attachment"), emotionally charged devotion to personal deities. Not only had *bhakti* touched all popular religious persuasions, it significantly furthered the growth of image worship. In Early Buddhist monuments such as Bhārhut, Sāñcī, and Amarāvatī, worshippers were shown prostrating themselves before symbols of the Buddha and even embracing or kissing them (fig. 1.2). Nowhere was the *bhakti* movement more concentrated than in Mathurā, where it fostered the growth of the enormously popular cult of the local hero Kṛṣṇa as an āvatar of Vishṇu. A few Kuṣāṇa-period sculptures depicting the Kṛṣṇa legend have survived at Mathurā.[25] A few Vaishṇava motifs appear on Indo-Greek and Śaka Kuṣāṇa coinage, but none have been found on Kuṣāṇa coins or in Gandhāran sculpture.

Another distinctive feature of spiritual life in the Kushanshahr was the appearance of a form of religious syncretism then current in the Middle East and Mediterranean littoral.[26] Perhaps the most dramatic evidence of this in the West may still be seen at the mountaintop temple and mortuary shrine at Nemrud Dagi in southeastern Turkey.[27] Built by a certain Antiochus (ca. 69–34



FIGURE 1.2. Worshippers of the *bodhi* tree of Kāśyapa Buddha. Detail of railing pillar, Bhārhut. Prakrit inscriptions in Brahmī: (top) *chekulana saghamitasa thabho danam* (Pillar gift of Saṅghamitra from Chikulana); (bottom) *bhagavato kasapasa bodhi* (bodhi tree of the holy Kāśyapa). Red Kaimur sandstone, dia. of roundel 54.7 cm. Indian Museum, Calcutta (author's photograph).

BCE), king of the small Hellenistic state of Commagene, the sanctuary features giant statues and relief carvings of the king himself and the hybrid Greek and Iranian gods who protected him and his state. In fact, some of these deities, both Greek and Iranian, also appear on the coins of Kaniṣka I and Huviṣka, and they are indicated here with an asterisk. Foremost in the Nemrud Dagi pantheon is the statue of the supreme deity inscribed with the syncretic Greek-Iranian name of Zeus-Orormases (*Arhuramazda); next is the solar god given four names: Apollo-*Mithra-*Helios-Hermes. He is followed by the martial god Artagnes (the Avestan god of victories *Verethragna), whose inscribed name is linked to that of two Greek elements, the hero *Heracles and the war god Ares; and finally a state goddess (the Tyche of Commagene). Also included are relief carvings of the king's deified ancestors, Iranian on the paternal side going back to Darius the Great, and Greek on the maternal side, beginning with Alexander the Great.

To be sure, religious syncretism is a universal and complex spiritual phenomenon. The syncretism current in the Kuṣāṇa period, however, was a specific and self-conscious type, one that originated in the mingling of different populations following the spread of Hellenism by Alexander the Great and his successors. As mentioned above, some of the major Western deities embraced in this process turn up on the coins of Kaniṣka I and Huviṣka; and in the coins of the latter the process of syncretic fusion is clearly at work among Indian war gods: Mahāsena (great general), Skanda (attacker), Viśākhā, and Kumāra (princely youth).[28] In Huviṣka's time these were separate and independent deities, but at a later date their identities were merged into that of a single war god, Kārttikeya, a son of Śiva, and their names were applied to him as cognomen.[29] In the Rabatak inscription the names of Mahāsena, Viśākhā, and perhaps Kumāra were written above those of the Iranian martial gods Sroshard, Narasa, and Mihr.[30]

Taking a different form, much the same process may be observed in Gandhāran depictions of folk gods, especially the *yakṣās* and *yakṣis,* who are worshipped to the present day throughout the Indian cultural sphere. Those deities were prominently depicted in the Early Buddhist sanctuaries that sought to appeal to the general populace, as seen in the many examples, clearly identified with inscriptions, on the Bhārhut railing pillars of the second century BCE. Although *yakṣās* and *yakṣis* appear prominently in the art of Mathurā of the Kuṣāṇa period, they are far less common in Gandhāra. A few are depicted in architectural decorations, but they are more often paired as female and male tutelary gods in statues clearly intended as objects of worship.[31] This could be taken as evidence that in Gandhāra the devotions that previously were offered to numerous *yakṣās* and *yakṣis* were combined and focused on this pair. There is very little data about the actual content of these cults. The

female is tentatively identified as Hāritī, the ancient smallpox goddess (*yakṣi*) who, in Buddhist legends, was converted by Śākyamuni into a giver and protector of children; the male, according to Chinese pilgrims, was Pañcika, a god who conferred wealth and was often conflated with Kubera, foremost among the *yakṣās*.[32] Sculptures of these deities, individually or as a pair, are found throughout the northern half of the Kuṣāṇa empire, and they may well have been equated with two gods of prosperity and fertility prominent on Kuṣāṇa coinage, the Iranian or Bactrian Pharro and Ardoxšo.[33]

Buddhist Doctrines and Imagery

The symbolic content of Kuṣāṇa Buddhist sculpture is a matter of much debate, and the obstacles to correct interpretation are formidable. Gandhāran or Mathurān images, unlike their Chinese counterparts, bear few inscriptions to clarify the beliefs and intentions of their patrons. The destruction of sanctuaries and the scattering of images have made it difficult to place the surviving sculptures into meaningful contexts. The religion itself was by no means a unified creed, as new and dissident doctrines come into being. The dating of both religious texts and artistic monuments is uncertain, making it difficult to measure the intervals between developments in religious ideology and the devising of artistic motifs to symbolize those developments in visual terms. Modern counterfeit statues have also inadvertently been introduced into the debates. Here is not the place to deal with that issue other than to signal utmost caution when dealing with objects without trustworthy provenance. Finally, use of the all-too-familiar terms Hīnayāna, Mahāyāna, and Vajrayāna have complicated efforts to interpret Kuṣāṇa Buddhist sculpture. To be sure, the basic religious concepts of those three systems coexisted during the early centuries of the Common Era, but sharp, self-conscious distinctions in ideology were not adopted until a much later date. Most problematic is the use of the term *Hīnayāna*, which is replaced in this chapter by *Early Buddhism*.

Maitreya and Company

One of the most striking features of Kuṣāṇa Buddhist art is the abundance of images identified as representations of the bodhisattva Maitreya found in Gandhāra; in much smaller numbers, they are also found around Mathurā.[34] A vast body of scholarship has been devoted to the cult of this bodhisattva, to his role as a transitional figure between Early Buddhism and Mahāyāna, and to his possible links with the messianic beliefs of Iran and West Asia.[35]

Even before the arrival of the Kuṣāṇas in India, this deity seems to have been firmly established in Buddhist worship. About the beginning of the Common Era, Maitreya appears on one of the four monumental gateways of Sāñcī stūpa I. He is shown at the ends of ranks of six Buddhas of the past, each

represented aniconically by a stūpa or tree.[36] These emblems reflected Early Buddhist thought in which Tathāgatas such as Kāśyapa or Kanakmuni are described as having appeared one after the other before Śākyamuni; Maitreya is to come in the future. Though the Sāñcī carvings were clearly rooted in Early Buddhism, they diminished the importance of the historical Śākyamuni by reflecting the notion of a trans-historical Buddha principle and thus anticipating Mahāyāna concepts.

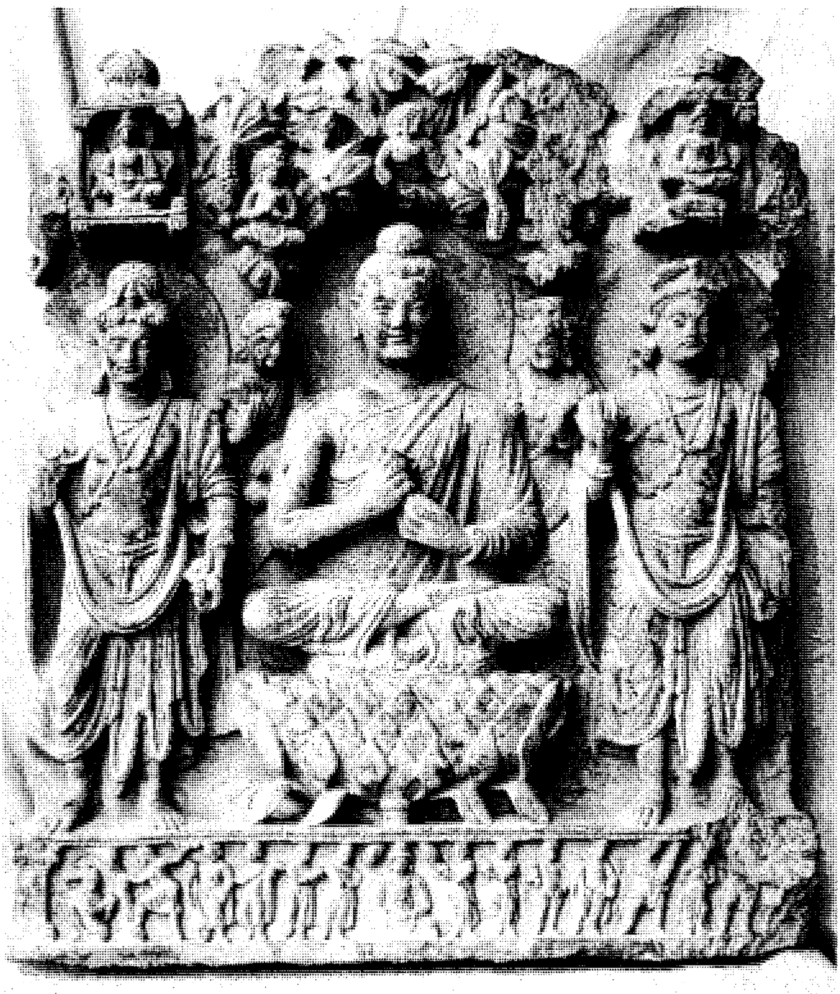


FIGURE 1.3. Śākyamuni flanked by Maitreya, Indra, Brahma, and unidentified bodhisattva. On plinth: (left) the conversion of Aṅgulimālika; (right) Vajrapāṇi subdues the *nāga* Apalāla. Sahrī-Bahlol. Phyllite, 59 x 47.6 cm. Peshawar Museum (author's photograph).

Figurative images of Maitreya were carved in the Kushanshahr about a century later and shown in three basic formats: (1) paired with an unidentified bodhisattva on large steles flanking Śākyamuni, who is seated holding his hands in a teaching gesture (fig. 1.3);[37] (2) an independent object of worship, dressed like an Indian prince, heavily bejeweled, and holding a water bottle (fig. 1.4);[38]



FIGURE 1.4. Standing image of Maitreya bodhisattva. Ahicchattrā. Buff Sikri sandstone, h. 71 cm. National Museum of India, New Delhi (author's photograph).

(3) seated and bejewelled in the Tuṣita Heaven preaching to devotees.[39] Unfortunately, however, only two helpful inscriptions have been found on the scores of surviving Maitreya images. The most informative is on the base of the statue shown in fig. 1.4, a well-preserved Mathurā-school statue unambiguously identified as Maitreya.[40] The other, the pedestal of a missing Maitreya image found at Mathurā, was inscribed in the reign of Huviṣka. It confirms the deity's presence in a sanctuary of the Dharmaguptakas, a sect closely affiliated with the conservative Sarvāstivādins, the preeminent ecclesiastical organization in the Kushanshahr.[41] The sheer quantity of other Maitreya images uncovered in Kuṣāṇa domains, though uninscribed, is evidence that his cult was a major factor in popular Buddhism. He appears primarily as a bodhisattva, the paramount Mahāyāna ideal, but the symbolic content of his imagery is fully congruent with accounts in Early Buddhist texts.[42]

Great uncertainty affects our understanding of the other major Gandhāran bodhisattva image type, which appears both as an independent object of devotion and as paired with Maitreya flanking Śākyamuni (fig. 1.3). Generally called the turbaned bodhisattva, he is adorned with the same necklaces, amulets, and armlets as Maitreya, but wears a distinctive princely turban with a jeweled crest ornament.[43] Some scholars have speculated that this figure is Śākyamuni himself in the guise of a bodhisattva; others say that he is Avalokiteśvara (of this, see more below), but incontrovertible evidence of his identity has yet to be found.[44] But if the precise symbolic meaning and religious context of these steles remains unclear, their underlying connotation is self-evident: the two bodhisattvas and Śākyamuni are combined as objects of devotion; the primacy of the historical Buddha is again diminished.

Judging from the number of statues found, bodhisattva cults seem to have been much stronger in Greater Gandhāra that in other parts of the subcontinent, lending added credence to those who claim that the region developed its own distinctive forms of Buddhist belief and practice. To be sure, bodhisattva figures and triad-like compositions are found in Mathurā, but in much smaller numbers. In one such type, the figures flanking Śākyamuni merely bear fly whisks and seem to be nonspecific attendants. In other examples, one of the attendants holds a thunderbolt and may well be the familiar guardian figure Vajrapāṇi, while his counterpart holds lotus blossoms or a flower garland.[45] In none of the Mathurān triads do the flanking figures project the strong iconic meaning suggested by those from Gandhāra.

Mahāyāna Images?

Even more difficult to interpret is a group of stone steles that show Śākyamuni seated in a vast assemblage of deities. Carved in deep honeycombed relief, many slabs of this kind have been found in Gandhāra; none, however,



FIGURE 1.5. Preaching Śākyamuni and display of deities. Mohammed Nari. Phyllite, 126 x 94 cm. Lahore Museum (author's photograph).

have come from the Mathurā region. The best preserved of these works was discovered at Mohammed Nari, a little-documented archaeological site in the Gandhāran heartland between Charsadda and Takht-i-bāhī (fig. 1.5).[46] Though this image type is one of the most highly developed and eloquent sculptural expressions of Buddhist theology, key questions regarding its date and iconographic content remain unsolved.

A few scholars have placed the Mohammed Nari stele as early as the first century CE;[47] others suggest the late second or early third century,[48] while some put it in the fourth[49] or even in the fifth.[50] The erudite Alfred Foucher proposed that it represents the legendary Miracle of Multiplication at Śrāvastī, in which Śākyamuni created an array of Buddhas who filled the sky, thus confounding Brahman sages with his supernatural powers.[51] That interpretation, however, has been challenged,[52] and John Huntington, for one, proposed that the carving portrays Amitāyus or Amitābha preaching in the Sukhāvatī paradise,[53] a familiar theme in East Asian Buddhist art. Huntington supported his hypothesis by citing the graphic descriptions of that paradise in the *Amitāyus* and *Larger Sukhāvatī vyūha sūtra*, which were first translated into Chinese in the second century CE by a Yüeh-chih monk named Lokarakṣa. This would suggest that the texts were probably current at the time and place of the carving of the steles. In fact, Huntington claimed that "virtually every detail of the stele corresponds to text references in the Sukhāvatī-literature" – laymen undergoing rebirth in paradise, for example, or birds shown perched on roofs. Agreeing with Huntington, C. Haesner went even further and identified such principal Mahāyāna bodhisattvas as Avalokiteśvara, Mahāsthāmaprāpta, and Māñjuśrī among the myriad figures shown in the stele. She concluded: "The people of Gandhāra ... translated the magnificent ideas described in the *Larger Sukhāvatī vyūha sūtra* into three-dimensional forms."[54] As additional evidence in support of his hypothesis, Huntington cited the discovery near Mathurā of the pedestal of a standing image inscribed with the name of Amitābha and dated in the reign of Huviṣka – unquestioned proof that the deity was in worship at an early date (the second century CE according to most estimates).[55] R.C. Sharma, then Curator of the Mathurā Museum, accepted Huntington's views about Mahāyāna symbolism and cited an old essay by V.S. Agrawala that listed a half-dozen Kuṣāṇa-period Mahāyāna images from Mathurā.[56] In this same vein, scholars have given Avalokiteśvara's name to a handful of statues whose turban crests bear the most dependable iconographic emblem of that bodhisattva, a small image of a seated meditating Buddha, presumably Amitābha.[57] The same type of turban crest appears on a Mathurā statuette of a bodhisattva seated half cross-legged in meditation, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.[58] Identifying that carving as Avalokiteśvara, scholars have assumed that other statues posed in the same "Pensive Prince" position also represent the bodhisattva, even those which lack the seated figure in the headdress.[59]

Having proposed that Buddhist sculptures of the Kuṣāṇa realm depict well-defined Mahāyāna concepts, certain students have extended their reach to include Vajrayāna, or Esoteric Buddhist, themes as well. For example, V.S.

Agrawala used the terms *māṇuṣi* ("human") to designate Buddhas of the past (e.g., Śākyamuni and Dīpaṃkara) and *dhyāna* (or *jñāna,* "wisdom") for non-historical ones such as Amitābha.[60] That usage had been popularized by the 1914 iconographic handbook of Alice Getty, *The Gods of Northern Buddhism,* and has often been uncritically applied to Buddhist images of all periods and countries. The concept of the *jñāna Tathāgatas*, however, became prominent in Buddhist symbolism only in the eighth and ninth centuries, as may be seen in *maṇḍalas* of the so-called *vajradhātu* (Diamond Matrix). Agrawala used the terms *maṇuṣi* and *dhyāna* for Kuṣāṇa-period images even though he was aware of the anachronism; R.C. Sharma and J. Huntington, however, continued to use them without mentioning the discrepancy. Huntington even raised the possibility that the Mathurā-school steles with Vajrapāṇi are Esoteric Buddhist in content.[61]

The attribution of such clearly defined Mahāyāna and Esoteric Buddhist content to Kuṣāṇa-period imagery has aroused vigorous and convincing opposition.[62] G. Schopen demonstrated that there is no epigraphic or textual evidence to support the notion of an independent cult of Amitābha or Avalokiteśvara in Mathurā or Gandhāra during the Kuṣāṇa period.[63] Others have claimed that the Mohammed Nari-type carvings most likely depict the generic Mahāyāna concept of the simultaneous existence of a vast pantheon of savior deities rather than episodes from specific texts such as the *Amitāyus* and *Sukhāvatī vyūha sūtras*.[64] The proposal that familiar Mahāyāna deities such as Avalokiteśvara and Mānjuśrī were depicted in that stele is contradicted by fact that much of the *emblematai* in Gandhāran and Mathurān statues is unsystematic. Headdress ornaments, for example, contain such diverse motifs as Garuḍa, Sūrya, a Buddha preaching (not meditating), lunar crescents, and jewels of various kinds.[65] As for the Pensive Prince position, this format was used in fifth-century Chinese Buddhist sculpture for Śākyamuni and Maitreya but never for Avalokiteśvara. Perhaps the most convincing argument against the full Mahāyāna hypothesis is the rarity and scarcity of the works of art cited as evidence. Compared with the numerically overwhelming manifestations of Maitreya worship, which, as we have seen, is transitional between Early Buddhism and Mahāyāna, there are no substantial, consistent indications of well-defined Mahāyāna imagery in Kuṣāṇa art with the exception, perhaps, of the Mohammed Nari type, whose symbolic content is still obscure.

A small number of monasteries belonging to the Mahāsāṁghikas, the school from which Mahāyāna is said to have emerged, have been identified within the Kuṣāṇa empire. Otherwise, the conservative Sarvāstivādin order and its sub-schools prevailed among Kuṣāṇa Buddhist ecclesiastical organizations.[66]

Although there is evidence of lively doctrinal disputes between the old and new schools of thought,[67] there is none for radical sectarian conflict, and it is possible that monks professing Mahāyāna beliefs resided in conservative monasteries.

A close study of Kuṣāṇa-period sculptures and inscriptions suggests that an observation made long ago by Edward Conze is still valid: "we do not know what the Mahāyāna was like at its inception, and still less how it originated and developed, or how it was related to earlier forms of Buddhism."[68] In the current state of knowledge, it seems prudent to assume that during the Kuṣāṇa period the great majority of Buddhist sculptures from the empire still belong to Early Buddhist traditions but reflect, in varying degrees, elements of Mahāyāna thought. A few, like the Mohammed Nari stele, unquestionably embody generic Mahāyāna ideals. The small number of sculptures or motifs that may resemble developed East Asian imagery of later times should be deemed tentative or experimental in nature.

It is thought that the Greater Vehicle did not emerge in India as a separate and independent doctrinal organization until the fifth century CE, although the texts on which it was based – among them, the Lotus sūtra, the Perfection of Wisdom texts, the *Vimalakīrti* and *Suvarṇaprabhāsa* sūtras – were in existence centuries earlier, and only in the late fifth did Mahāyāna begin to develop a systematic artistic vocabulary to express its doctrines. The credibility of this view is greatly enhanced by evidence from Chinese Buddhist art. Developed Mahāyāna symbols – the Thousand-Buddha motif, for example, or the Paired Buddhas Śākyamuni and Prabhūtaratna from chapter eleven of the Lotus sūtra, or inscribed images of Amitāyus – begin to appear in a tentative fashion in Chinese art in the mid-fifth century, even though the main Mahāyāna sūtras had been translated into Chinese much earlier.[69] Only in the mid-sixth century did unambiguous paradise imagery appear at sites such as Hsiang tang-shan, the Wangfo-ssu in Ch'eng-tu, and Tun-huang. On this issue, the observations of S. Mizuno and T. Nagahiro are still valid:

> In the second half of the fifth century ... there was as yet in China no systematized iconography in the proper sense of the term. Certain distinctions were, of course, expressed between Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, devas and men by the various ornaments and postures of each image, and although these all had a certain meaning, no rigid canon ... had by that time been formed to govern the iconography of Buddhist statues through rules formulated on a religious basis ... Unfortunately no literature of the period exists by means of which these conclusions can be verified, and this absence of reference material in itself testifies to the immaturity of the iconographical knowledge at that time.[70]

In India the systematization of Buddhist iconography of which Mizuno and Nagahiro spoke was not attained until the precise formulations of the Vajrayāna *sādhana* texts, which can be roughly dated to the seventh century at the earliest. For Indian Buddhist art of the first four centuries of the Common Era, the iconographic dividing line between Early Buddhist and Mahāyāna content remains indistinct. The onset of later developments can be detected, but it is misleading and anachronistic to see them as fully matured at that time.

Chronology of Works of Art

It is possible to cite only approximate chronological benchmarks for the evolution of religious sculpture in upper India. Within these broad guidelines, however, the dating of individual works is often uncertain. As shown above, for example, estimates of the date of the Mohammed Nari relief carving vary by as much as four centuries, so utmost caution must be observed when using works of art to date developments in religious doctrine. It is equally hazardous, however, to reverse the process and ascribe exact dates to works of art based on the texts that they appear to reflect. Furthermore, data derived from the histories of art and religion are still very nebulously correlated with that from political and social history. Subject to these caveats, here follows a rough outline of the evolution of sculpture in Mathurā and Greater Gandhāra.

Early Stage

In the second and first centuries BCE, sculpture workshops at Mathurā – such as those at Bhārhut, Sāñcī, Bodhgayā, and the Western Ghats – shared in the development of nascent Buddhist imagery. Surprisingly, however, this was not the case in Gandhāra. No significant works of art datable prior to the first century CE have been found there, even though excavations at Taxila and in the Swāt Valley provide abundant evidence of Buddhist religious activity as early as the third century BCE. In the first century CE, workshops in Mathurā and Gandhāra began producing the first anthropomorphic images of high deities. Strong stylistic influences came from Central Asia, Iran, and the eastern Mediterranean, and equally great changes took place in the political sphere. Śakas established themselves in Mathurā, Gandhāra, and Mālwā; then the Parthians entered the Punjab, and about mid-century, the Kuṣāṇas emerged as paramount rulers in Gandhāra and began their triumphal march to the south and east.

Mature Stage

In the second century CE, with the extension of the *pax Kuṣānica* to much of upper India, the main sculpture workshops of the empire achieved distinctive

regional styles. Those in Gandhāra perfected a lively, narrative mode, often with a pronounced Roman flavor,[71] while those in Mathurā tended toward a static, emblematic idiom. The number and the high artistic quality of Mathurān dated sculptures suggest that generous support was given to religious institutions during the reigns of Kaniṣka I and Huviṣka. By about 230 CE, a relatively uncontroversial date, the Sasanian kings of Iran had conquered Gandhāra. The Kuṣāṇa dynasty, thenceforth dubbed Kushano-Sasanian, continued to rule but was nominally subordinate to the Iranians, and its authority gradually decreased. Throughout the last half of the third century and most of the fourth, the Buddhist sculpture workshops in the northern and southern parts of the empire remained active, and although eloquent works were occasionally produced, many others were formulaic and uninspired.

Late Stage

Artistic developments in the late fourth and fifth centuries are the most difficult of all to chart, as scholars have been much more attracted to the earlier phases. John Marshall claimed that production in Gandhāra totally ceased after the Sasanian conquest, resumed in a so-called Later School in the second half of the fourth century, and flourished until the invasions of the White (Hephthalite) Huns at the beginning of the sixth.[72] Others maintain that there were no such breaks and that the Huns did not cause the damage attributed to them by traditional Indian histories. In any case, it is difficult to ascribe secure dates to the flowering of sculpture in stucco at sites around Jalālābād in Afghanistan at the western end of the Khyber Pass.[73] Byzantine coins found there, and the strong similarities to Guptan art in some of the images, suggest that Buddhist artists continued to work as late as the sixth century, long after the last traces of Kuṣāṇa rule had been extinguished.

The Kaniṣka Era

Hundreds of inscriptions have been found in regions controlled by the Kuṣāṇas. More than 217 of them bear dates and, occasionally, rulers' names.[74] Written in several languages and in two writing systems (Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī), the texts unfortunately are dated in six or seven calendrical systems, the most prominent of which is the era inaugurated by Kaniṣka I.[75] Indeed, the Rabatak inscription cites the founding of the Kaniṣka era as a momentous historic event.[76]

Attempts to ascribe dates in the Common Era and to reconcile the different chronological systems are simply mind-numbing, and none of the complex chains of hypothetical arguments has so far been universally accepted. A further complication was added when J. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw observed

that certain statues from Mathurā bear similar dates and similar Kuṣāṇa royal names but are markedly different in style.[77] She interpreted this to mean that the images had been made in to two separate eras approximately one century apart, the first being that of Kaniṣka I and the second beginning with Kaniṣka II and continuing for five decades or so. Supporting this proposal with evidence from numismatics, she provided a basis for the relative chronology of Mathurā sculptures for nearly two hundred years. Her views, however, have often been rejected by scholars who are not prepared to accept evidence arising from the stylistic analysis of works of art.[78]

Seeing the crucial role that Kaniṣka played in the political and cultural history of the Kushanshahr, scholars have tried repeatedly to determine his exact dates. Many historians, the most determined being the formidable B.N. Mukherjee of Calcutta University, firmly maintain that the Kaniṣka era began in 78 CE and that this date is the origin of the Śaka era still recognized in India.[79] Others have proposed a variety of dates ranging from 110–120, to 128, to 144, and the learned numismatist Robert Göbl placed it at 232.[80] Soviet Russian scholarship, introduced to the world at large at the 1968 Dushanbe conference, put it as late as 278, long after the Sasanian conquest and only a half-century before the rise of the Guptas. The outside estimates of this critical date in Kuṣāṇa history differ by as much as two centuries, but the majority place it within a much narrower range of about fifty years, beginning with 78 CE.

Six or seven sovereigns may have constituted the main dynastic line of the so-called Great Kuṣāṇas.[81] Roughly the same number of monarchs governed the Mughal dynasty, which also arose in Central Asia and occupied much the same territory more than a millennium later. Mughal documents describe in minute detail the history of the state and the vastly different talents and temperaments of its grandees. Great patrons of the arts, Mughal emperors built lavish palaces, gardens, tombs, and mosques. They summoned holy men and gifted painters, poets, and musicians to their courts, and commissioned fine textiles and jade vessels. Like the Kuṣāṇas, they maintained close political and cultural contacts with Iran while fighting it for control of the border regions, and they engaged in lucrative trade with China and the West.

Students of Kuṣāṇa political history have been tempted to compose detailed scenarios like those of the Mughals, describing battles, shifting alliances with local rulers, and bloody succession disputes among scheming princes and ambitious generals. Kaniṣka I has been likened to Akbar in his appetite for conquest and his breadth of interests, but a history of the Kuṣāṇas on the model of the Mughals is not yet possible. Even a dependable list of all Kuṣāṇa rulers has yet to be compiled, and the most basic chronology of the dynasty

remains the subject of intense debate. Recent evidence is shedding light on the date of Kaniṣka I, and the many fragments of historical and artistic evidence are being brought into much sharper focus.[82]

NOTES

Though I have been away from Kuṣāṇa studies for some years, Professors Koichi Shinohara and Phyllis Granoff, believing that distance may have sharpened my vision, asked me to compose this Prologue. In doing so I have made special use of the work of Gérard Fussman, Robert Göbl, David MacDowall, Bratindra Nath Mukherjee, Baij Nath Puri, Richard Salomon, Ramesh Chandra Sharma, Gregory Schopen, Nicholas Sims-Williams, Boris Staviski, and Wladimir Zwalf, for which I wish to express my admiration and debt. I wish also to thank Deborah Klimburg-Salter for sending post-haste the volume of essays from the Vienna conference of 1996, Pramod Chandra for his thoughtful advice, and Naomi Noble Richard, Kurt Behrendt, and Pia Brancaccio for helping to clarify my turgid prose. Finally I am, as always, most deeply beholden to the unfailingly helpful staff and generous resources of the Harvard University library system.

1 The term *Kuṣāṇa* is generally used to refer to a confederation of nomadic tribes, called Yüeh-chih in Chinese annals, who wandered with their herds northwest of Kansu Province in the late third century BCE. Driven westward by tribes called Hsiung-nu, they occupied Ta-sia, or Bactria, about 135 BCE, displacing the Greek princelings whose ancestors had come to the region with Alexander of Macedonia. The Yüeh-chih divided that country into five sub-states; of these, one, called Kuei-shang (or Kuṣāṇa), became supreme, fought with the Parthians, and expanded its domain southward to Gandhāra (ca. 50 CE). Its ruler is assumed to have been Kujula Kadphises, on whose coins the name *Kuṣāṇa* first appears. The coins of his son or grandson, Vima Kadphises, were the first to employ imperial epithets (e.g., *basileos basileon* in Greek, or *Mahārāja rājadirāja* in Prakrit). With Vima Kadphises begins the sequence of the so-called Great Kuṣāṇa kings, of whom Kaniṣka I is the most renowned. For Chinese sources of Kuṣāṇa history, see Zürcher, "The Yüeh-chih and Kaniṣka in Chinese Sources."

2 Wilson, *Ariana Antiqua*, 347–81.

3 Exemplary surveys of Kuṣāṇa studies are to be found in Puri, *India under the Kuṣāṇas*, and, more recently, in Zwalf, *Catalogue of Gandhāra Sculpture*. For more specialized introductions, see the following: archaeological activity prior to World War II, Deydier, *Contribution a l'étude de l'art du Gandhāra;* well-organized bibliographic guides, Puri, *Kuṣāna Bibliography*, and Guenée, *Bibliographie analytique;* cultural history, Fussman, "Upāya-kauśalya"; epigraphic and linguistic matters, Salomon, *Indian Epigraphy;* Kuṣāṇa pre-dynastic history, Staviski, *La Bactriane sous les Kuṣāns;* Kuṣāṇa dynastic history, Mukherjee, *Rise and Fall of the Kuṣāna Empire* and *Great Kushana Testament;* Kuṣāṇa coinage, Göbl, *System und Chronologie der Münzprägung der Kuṣanreiches;* Kuṣāṇas in the Mathurā region, Srinivasan, *Mathurā*, Sharma, *Buddhist Art of Mathurā* and *Buddhist Art;* dynastic symbolism, Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts of the Kushans.*

4 This was a major effort by more than a dozen specialists to focus mainly on the date of the Kaniṣka era. Their essays appear in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1913 and 1914.

5 Among them: University of London 1960 on the date of Kaniṣka, see Basham, *Papers on the Date of Kaniṣka;* Dushanbe 1968, see Staviski, *Sovetskaia archkeologiia Srednei Azi i kushanskaia problema* and Gafurov et. al., *Kushan Studies in U.S.S.R.;* Kabul 1970, International Meeting on the Coordination of Kuṣān Studies and Archaeological Research in Central Asia (*Afghanistan* 23); Colloque franco-sovietique, *L'archaéologie de la Bactriane*

ancienne; Vienna 1996, on the pre-Islamic history of the Indo-Iranian borderlands, see Alram and Klimburg-Salter, *Coins, Art, and Chronology;* Kansas City 2000, conference held at the Nelson-Atkins Museum, on the art and archaeology of the pre-Kuṣāṇa period in Gandhāra.

6 The term *Gandhāra* was widely used in antiquity to denote a small state that extended into the lower valleys of the Kabul and Swāt rivers and, perhaps, to Taxila in the eastern Punjab. Its populace was largely Indian in custom; its language, now called Gāndhārī, was Prakrit (a mixture of indigenous tongues and Sanskrit). Its capital was originally Puṣkarāvatī, near present-day Charsadda. When the Kuṣāṇas conquered Gandhāra they moved its capital to nearby Puruṣapura (present-day Peshāwar), which – along with Balkh, Kapiśā, and Mathurā – became one of its main bastions.

7 Fussman, "Upāya-kauśalya."

8 Ibid.

9 In present-day histories of India, former Central Asiatic nomadic peoples such as the Śakas, Parthians, and Kuṣāṇas are generically referred to as Indo-Scythians. In this context, the term *Scythian* does not have its more familiar meaning of nomadic tribes in the Crimea region in the eighth and seventh centuries BCE, as described by Greek historians.

10 Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts of the Kushans,* 215–49.

11 A major Kuṣāṇa seat was Balkh, capital of ancient Bactria. Located along the Amu Darya near Mazar-e-Sharif, it has not been thoroughly excavated owing to the great depth of alluvium.

12 Meunié, *Shotorak.*

13 Dobbins, *The Stūpa and Vihara of Kaniṣka I;* Kuwayama, *The Main Stūpa of Shāh-jī-kī-ḍherī.*

14 Sharma, *Buddhist Art,* 47, 58–59.

15 Puri, *Kuṣana Bibliography,* 83–97; Mukherjee, *Rise and Fall of the Kuṣāna Empire,* 410–11.

16 For Surkh Kotal, see Henning, "Bactrian Inscription," and Schlumberger, *Surkh Khotal en Bactriane.* For Rabatak, see Fussman, "L'inscription de Rabatak," Sims-Williams and Cribb, "New Bactrian Inscription," Sims-Williams, "Further Notes on the Bactrian Inscription," and Mukherjee, "Development of the Iconography of Kārttikeya." For Māṭ, see Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts of the Kushans,* and Fussman, "The Māṭ *devakula.*" Internal administration of the empire, as best it can be reconstructed, seems to have followed Iranian models, with the widespread use of subordinate rulers called *kṣatrapas* (satraps).

17 Verardi, "Kuṣāṇa Emperors as Cakravartins." Verardi held that the dynastic shrines at Surkh Kotal and Māṭ presented Kuṣāṇa rulers as Universal Monarchs (*cakravartins*) in the Brahmanical sense – militant, invincible warriors. This hypothesis lacks confirmation from archaeological evidence. The Rabatak inscription, found after his article appeared, confirms the likelihood that the cult was non-Indian in character. See Mukherjee, *Rise and Fall of the Kuṣāṇa Empire,* ch. 8.

18 Coomaraswamy, "Royal Gesture," a short, brilliant article; for south Indian legends of the *cakravartin,* see Sivaramamurti, *Amarāvatī Sculptures,* 222–24; Knox, *Amaravati,* no. 62.

19 Stone, *Buddhist Art of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa,* 6.

20 For a list of all deities shown on Kuṣāṇa coins, see Göbl, "Rabatak Inscription," 40–46. Of the coins of Kaniṣka I, only two basic types depict Buddhist figures: a standing image and a seated figure, both inscribed in Bactrian Greek script to approximate the Prakrit forms for (Śākyamuni) Buddha and Maitreya Buddha. See Göbl, "Rabatak Inscription," nos. 66, 73, 785–88; pl. 165; MacDowall, "Development of Buddhist Symbolism." See also Cribb, "Kaniṣka's Buddha Coins," and his "Re-Examination of Buddha Images," where he asserts that the coins are indicators of the high importance of the faith to Kaniṣka.

21 Göbl, *System und Chronologie der Münzprägung der Kuṣanreiches,* pls. 168–70, illustrates twenty-one different Oešo motifs on Kuṣāṇa coinage, the name being possibly a variant of the Sanskrit *iśvara,* "lord." Putting aside the possibility that Śiva may appear on Indus Valley

seals, Kuṣāṇa coins provide the oldest surviving iconic depictions of this preeminent Hindu god.

22 Kreisel, "Ikonographie der Siva-Bildwerke in der Kunst Mathurā"; Agrawala, "Mathurā Museum Catalogue: Brahmanical Images," 25–28. The majority of Śaiva artistic relics from Mathurā are *liṅgas*. A pre-Kuṣāṇa relief carving depicts a *liṅga* worshipped by centaur-like creatures (Kreisel, "Ikonographie der Siva-Bildwerke in der Kunst Mathurā," fig. 1); a later relief carving depicts Kuṣāṇa men in *liṅgapūjā* (Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts of the Kushans*, fig. 41).

23 Rosenfield, "Arts of Buddhist India in the Boston Museum," 131; see also Seckel, *Jenseits des Bildes.*

24 Quintanilla, "Emergence of the Stone Sculptural Tradition at Mathurā."

25 Agrawala, "Mathurā Museum Catalogue: Architectural Pieces," 42.

26 In present-day theological discourse, the term *syncretism* carries pejorative overtones of doctrinal adulteration and impurity. This essay cites the term without such intent in order to refer to the self-conscious efforts during the Hellenistic era to reconcile the beliefs of diverse people who, by virtue of trade or conquest, interacted with one another. See Grant, *Hellenistic Religions.*

27 Goell et. al., *Nemrud Dagi.*

28 Göbl, "Rabatak Inscription," pl. 171. In Huviṣka's coins two of these deities, Skanda and Kumāra, are already linked together.

29 Kārttikeya's name was probably derived from that of Kārttika, the eighth lunar month, thought to be well suited for battle. Viśākhā's came probably from the name of the auspicious second lunar month Vaiśākha. Cults of Kārttikeya flourished in the Kushanshahr, but for some reason his name does not appear on the Huviṣka coins. For a statue of Kārttikeya found in Mathurā, see Rosenfield, "Arts of Buddhist India in the Boston Museum," 79, fig. 49. For the extension of his cult into Central Asia see Mukherjee, "Development of the Iconography of Kārttikeya." Other familiar epithets of the war god in modern Hinduism are Brahmaṇya and Subrahmaṇya, which were probably derived from those of deities worshipped in south India.

30 The exact correspondences are not clear; see Sims-Williams and Cribb, "New Bactrian Inscription"; Sims-Williams, "Further Notes on the Bactrian Inscription"; and Mukherjee, *Great Kushana Testament.*

31 Foucher, *Beginnings of Buddhist Art,* 139–46.

32 Another Indian name applied to the male deity was Maṇibhadra, or "bearer of treasure." The process of consolidation reflected in sculptures from Gandhāra was not limited to that region. At Ajantā of the sixth century, figures identified as Hāritī and Pañcika were prominently displayed in an anteroom shrine of Cave 2.

33 See Ingholt, *Gandhāran Art in Pakistan,* nos. 338–48; Zwalf, *Catalogue of Gandhāra Sculpture,* 44, nos. 90–100. Other female deities of abundance correlated into this syncretic system may have included the Greek Demeter and the Indian Śrī-lakṣmī and Umā.

34 Ingholt, *Gandhāran Art in Pakistan,* nos. 288–312; Zwalf, *Catalogue of Gandhāra Sculpture,* 42, nos. 50–75; Kim, *Future Buddha Maitreya.*

35 For bibliographies, see Lamotte, *Histoire du bouddhisme Indien,* 550–52; Sponberg and Hardacre, *Maitreya, the Future Buddha;* Kim, *Future Buddha Maitreya.*

36 Marshall and Foucher, *Monuments of Sanchi.*

37 Ingholt, *Gandhāran Art in Pakistan,* nos. 291–311. Gandhāran images show Maitreya with a distinctive long tuft of hair folded over the top of his head and holding a water bottle. The same bottle and hairstyle also appear in Gandhāran representations of the Hindu deity Brahma as a convert to Buddhism. Sūtras devoted to Maitreya describe him as having been born into a *brāhman* family and then converted by Śākyamuni, who predicts the

youth's rebirth as his successor; see Kim, *Future Buddha Maitreya*, 72. The hair loop and water bottle are thus emblems of the bodhisattva's Brahmanical origins.

38 Often present on the steles are the much smaller figures of Brahma and Indra, symbolizing the allegiance of *brāhmans* and *kṣatriyas* to Buddhism. For a thorough review of this class of statues, see Kim, *Future Buddha Maitreya.*

39 Marshall, *Buddhist Art of Gandhāra*, fig. 102, depicts Maitreya, (not Śākyamuni as indicated in caption); see also Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts of the Kushans*, figs. 91, 98, 99, 100, 101. Maitreya bodhisattva is frequently shown in paradise above (or below) an image of the preaching Śākyamuni, indicating his role as successor.

40 Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts of the Kushans*, 231, pl. 54; Sharma, *Buddhist Art*, 181, fig. 94.

41 Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts of the Kushans*, pl. 32. For an inscribed image of an unspecified Buddhist deity dedicated to the Dharmaguptakas, see Sharma, *Buddhist Art*, 42, 170, fig. 79.

42 P. Jain, "Stages in the Bodhisattva Career of the Bodhisattva Maitreya," in Sponberg and Hardacre, *Maitreya, the Future Buddha*, 54-90.

43 Ingholt, *Gandhāran Art in Pakistan*, nos. 313-19; Zwalf, *Catalogue of Gandhāra Sculpture*, 42, nos. 76-84.

44 Fussman, "Numismatic and Epigraphic Evidence." In the same volume, Mitterwallner, "Brussels Buddha from Gandhāra," accepts the identification as Avalokiteśvara. See discussions in Ingholt, *Gandhāran Art in Pakistan*, no. 313, and Rhi, "Gandhāra Images of the 'Śrāvastī Miracle,'" 124-30.

45 For a Mathurā triad composition with fly-whisk bearers, see Vogel, *La sculpture de Mathurā*, pl. L. 26.A; for one with Vajrapāṇi, see Sharma, *Buddhist Art*, fig. 88.

46 Ingholt, *Gandhāran Art in Pakistan*, no. 255, with detailed bibliography.

47 Foucher, *Beginnings of Buddhist Art.*

48 Marshall, *Buddhist Art of Gandhāra.*

49 Rhi, "Gandhāra Images of the 'Śrāvastī Miracle.'"

50 Ingholt, *Gandhāran Art in Pakistan.*

51 Foucher, *Beginnings of Buddhist Art*, 169-80; see summary in Rhi, "Gandhāra Images of the 'Śrāvastī Miracle,'" 2-8.

52 Mallmann, *Introduction à l'étude d'Avalokiteçvara.*

53 Huntington, "Gandhāran Image of Amitāyus' Sukhavātī."

54 Haesner, "Paradise Scenes in Central Asian Art," 438.

55 Huntington, "A Gandhāran Image of Amitāyus' Sukhavāti," 672.

56 Agrawala, "Dhyāni Buddhas and Bodhisattvas in Mathurā"; Sharma, *Buddhist Art*, 212-17, 214, fig. 146 (for the Govindnagar site where the statue was found, see 87-117).

57 See Brough, "Amitābha and Avalokiteśvara," 65-70; Mitterwallner, *Kuṣāṇa Coins and Sculptures*, 115-30; Fussman, "Numismatic and Epigraphic Evidence," 72-73.

58 Czuma, *Kushan Sculpture*, no. 19.

59 Mitterwallner, "Brussels Buddha from Gandhāra," nos. 49-52. A Gandhāran bodhisattva seated in that pose is said to be inscribed with the name of Avalokiteśvara (Fussman, "Numismatic and Epigraphic Evidence," fig. 4), but that reading has been challenged by Gregory Schopen, "Mahāyāna in Indian Inscriptions."

60 Agrawala, "Dhyāni Buddhas and Bodhisattvas in Mathurā."

61 Sharma, *Buddhist Art*, 230; Huntington, "Mathurā Evidence for the Early Teachings of Mahāyāna," 88-89. Huntington sought to interpret the fly whisk and garland bearers as the bodhisattvas Vajrapāṇi and Padmapāṇi of the type seen in the Vajrayāna imagery of Auraungābād and Ellorā, saying that they indicate "some form of esoteric Buddhism in the second century."

62 Mallman, *Introduction à l'étude d'Avalokiteçvara.*

63 Schopen, "Mahāyāna in Indian Inscriptions," 15.

64 Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts of the Kushans*, 234-38; Rhi, "Gandhāra Images of the 'Śrāvastī Miracle,'" 136.

65 A preaching Buddha (Ingholt, *Gandhāran Art in Pakistan*, fig. 326); Garuda in Vogel, *La sculpture de Mathurā*, pl. 36; also in Sharma, *Buddhist Art*, fig. 150.

66 Bareau, *Les sectes bouddhiques du petit véhicule*. Bareau states that approximately nineteen Hinayāna sects existed by the 4th century CE, but the details of their histories as recorded in Buddhist texts are exceedingly obscure. Epigraphic evidence, an important source of evidence, tells of the predominance in the Kuṣāṇa empire of the Sarvāstivādins and Dharmaguptaka schools, and the lesser presence of the Mahāsāṃghikas. Without stating his evidence, Sharma in his *Buddhist Art: Mathurā School*, 64, claims that the Kuṣāṇas favored the latter, while their predecessors, the Śakas, preferred the Sarvāstivādins.

67 Sharma, *Buddhist Art*, 60.

68 Conze, *Buddhist Thought in India*, 199; see also Willams, *Mahāyāna Buddhism*, 26-33.

69 Among other examples are the nine-story miniature stone pagoda reflecting the doctrine of the nine levels in the *Sukhāvatī*, dated to 468 CE, in the Taipei City Historical Museum (pls. 30-31), and an inscribed statue of Amitāyus with strong Guptan-Gandhāran influence, dated to 474 CE, in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. See Matsubara, *Chūgoku Bukkyō chōkoku shiron*.

70 Mizuno and Nagahiro, *Yün-kang, Buddhist Cave-Temples*, vols. 8-9, 73.

71 Buchthal, "Foundations for the Chronology of Gandhāra Sculptures"; Soper, "The Roman Style in Gandhāra"; Rowland, "Gandhāra, Rome, and Mathurā"; Marshall, *Buddhist Art of Gandhāra*; Nehru, *Origins of the Gandhāran Style*.

72 Marshall, *Buddhist Art of Gandhāra*.

73 Tarzi, "Hadda à la lumière des trois dernières campagnes."

74 For a list of dated Kuṣāṇa inscriptions in both India proper and Greater Gandhāra, see Shrava, *Dated Kuṣāṇa Inscriptions*; for analyses of Mathurā inscriptions, see Das, *Early Inscriptions of Mathurā*, and Lüders, *Mathurā Inscriptions*.

75 For summaries of the eras and references to the vast literature on the subject, see Zwalf, *Catalogue of Gandhāra Sculpture*, 357-58, and Cribb, "Early Kushan Kings: New Evidence for Chronology. Evidence from the Rabatak Inscription."

76 Sims-Williams and Cribb, "New Bactrian Inscription of Kaniṣka," ref. lines 2 and 20; Mukherjee, *Great Kushana Testament*, 28.

77 Lohuizen-de Leeuw, *The "Scythian" Period*.

78 "Funny ideas are hard to die." Fussman, "Numismatic and Epigraphic Evidence," 72-73; Sharma, *Buddhist Art*, 11. On the other hand, Cribb in "Early Kushan Kings: New Evidence for Chronology. Evidence from the Rabatak Inscription," 194, accepts her argument.

79 Mukherjee, *Kuṣāṇa Genealogy*; Mukherjee, *Rise and Fall of the Kuṣāṇa Empire*; Mukherjee, *Great Kushana Testament*.

80 Göbl, "Rabatak Inscription."

81 The Rabatak inscription has brought to light the possibility of a hitherto unnoticed ruler, Vima Tak[to], who may have minted a major body of coinage inscribed with the Greek title "Soter Megas" (great savior) but, unaccountably, not with the ruler's name. The newly revealed Vima may have been the father of the Vima Kadphises depicted on a large group of gold and copper coins and by one of the imperial portraits from Māṭ near Mathurā. See Sims-Williams and J. Cribb, "New Bactrian Inscription," 80, 97-98, 11-23; Sims-Williams, "Further Notes on the Bactrian Inscription of Rabatak."

82 Falk, "The Yuga of Sphujiddhvaja and the era of the Kuṣāṇas."

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PART I: Archaeology

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2 Recent Archaeological Research in Gandhāra: The New Evidence

MAURIZIO TADDEI

The title of this chapter is undoubtedly too ambitious; however, I do not intend to deal with all the new evidence collected in recent years from excavations and surveys carried out in the Gandhāran region, as this would amount to discussing such a cumbersome quantity of data that I am afraid my reader would hardly be able to endure. I shall keep myself within the limits of a less presumptuous subject: "The new archaeological evidence concerning Gandhāran sculpture," an attempt to improve our art-historical knowledge by employing archaeological methods.[1]

I have decided to discuss only those pieces of evidence that come from excavations in Pakistan. Field research in Afghanistan stopped twenty years ago, and no substantial contributions are to be expected from what remains unpublished, with the great exception of the excavations of the Afghan Institute of Archaeology at Haḍḍa carried out by Zémaryalaï Tarzi from 1974 to 1978.[2] I can add that the data available from excavations in Afghanistan were discussed at length in the symposium "Weihrauch und Seide" held in Vienna in 1996. The forthcoming publication of the proceedings by the Kunsthistorisches Museum will certainly enrich our knowledge of the chronology and significance of Gandhāran art.[3]

Archaeology, Chronology, and Related Problems

Most of the attempts to provide Gandhāran art with a reliable chronological frame have been chiefly based on the interpretation of inscriptions and on stylistic analysis. It would be pointless to reiterate the much debated problem of the various eras employed in the limited number of inscriptions on Gandhāran sculptures. It is certainly not my intention to underestimate the importance of the attempts at interpretation or to disregard their results; nevertheless, I feel somehow uneasy when I try to avail myself of the evidence provided by epigraphy, especially when we have to deal with "official" inscriptions. This is not because I do not trust the specialists – the epigraphists

and historians. The difficulty lies in the fact that when an official code is employed, the written messages are not always "sincere" and reliable. A telling example is the monumental inscription on the architrave of the Roman Pantheon that bears the name of Marcus Agrippa and refers to the third year of his consulate, which would be between 27 and 25 BCE. However, we know for certain from the brick stamps that the building was erected by the emperor Hadrian between CE 118 and 125 – i.e., some 150 years later than what the "explicit" epigraphical evidence would have us believe. I am not suggesting that any such misunderstandings have taken place in the history of our studies; nevertheless I think it is always wise not to take the epigraphical evidence at its face value.

Nor do I intend to discuss the evidence recently brought to our attention by the epigraphists, foremost being the Rabatak inscription; the brilliant presentation of this outstanding document by Nicolas Sims-Williams and the numismatic and historical commentary by Joe Cribb will certainly give rise to a multi-voiced debate.[4] A long and detailed comment has already been published by Gérard Fussman, and it is my feeling that he is perhaps right when he writes that the evidence from Rabatak "does not alter the main problems of Kuṣāṇa chronology,"[5] though much new light is shed on Kaniṣka's religious attitude and policy. The year 78 for the Kaniṣka era – thus identified with the Śaka era – is still a possibility not to be discarded on the grounds of the Rabatak evidence alone.

On the other hand, one might reasonably object that even non-linguistic and, up to a certain degree, "unintentional" codes can be and often have been falsified. The history of art is full of archaisms, classicisms, renascences, etc., to say nothing of real forgeries made for political or commercial purposes which have sometimes produced artifacts seemingly archaic or classic that are actually much later. In ancient India, this is the case with some Gupta imitations of Mauryan models, which show a sort of recovery of past, and perhaps lost, values.[6] In any case, it is certainly easier to counterfeit an inscription by using an appropriate wording than an image by adopting the style characteristic of a dreamed-of past.

The best way of addressing the problem is to adopt an integrated approach in which the epigraphic, numismatic, and art-historical data may find their proper places. This approach can only be provided by archaeology – that is why we always look so anxiously to fresh excavations for new data concerning chronology, the architectural setting, iconographic programs, and so on. It is a pity that archaeological excavations are too often considered just the source of new sculptures and reliefs, as if we were actually in need of more pieces to fill the showcases and godowns of museums. What we expect to obtain from archaeological excavation is better information concerning the

circumstances in which Gandhāran images and reliefs were produced, made use of over the course of the years (sometimes centuries), and eventually dispersed, disposed of, or destroyed.

In the few pithy pages where Wladimir Zwalf deals with art history in his catalogue of the British Museum collection, one cannot but admit that without the contribution of archaeology we should not have such a nice, clear, and thought-provoking exposition, certainly destined to remain a landmark in our studies for many years to come.[7]

When we deal with archaeological data, there is one point to be kept in mind: in the excavation of a Buddhist sacred area, sculptures are often found in layers that prove to be much later than the sculptures themselves. In other words, the stratigraphical evidence only provides a *terminus post quem non* for dating the sculptures: this is due to the fact that sculptures – whether narrative, decorative reliefs, or images – were often reused in later monuments and at times employed as building material in newly built stūpas or other monuments. Almost all the excavators have come, more or less clearly, to this conclusion. Today it would be unthinkable to attempt a chronological classification of Gandhāran sculptures on the lines followed, for instance, thirty years ago for the excavations at Andandheri and Chatpat in the Chakdara area.[8]

The most important contribution brought by archaeology to the study of Gandhāran art in recent years is the identification by Domenico Faccenna of an early group that he labels as a *disegnativo,* or "drawing," group. A relief representative of this category is shown in figure 2.1. Though Faccenna has not yet gone into greater detail, the first information he provided was contained in a few lines read at the Conference at Dushanbe in 1968, and included in the proceedings thereof.[9] The stylistic affinity of the "drawing group" with the architectural decoration of the small stūpas 14, 17, and 27 at Butkara I (Swāt, Pakistan), stratigraphically attributable to the first half of the first century CE, was soon accepted with different nuances by Johanna Engelberta van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, Chantal Fabrègues, Susan Huntington, Lolita Nehru, and others.[10] I will not linger over this argument, which is well known. I only wish to point out that, were it not for the stratigraphic data and the evidence of re-worked pieces, I should have been rather inclined to date the drawing group no earlier than the middle of the second century CE, because the figures in its reliefs are characterized by the carving of the irises and pupils in their eyes, the use of which is not widespread in Hellenistic/Roman marble statuary before the time of Hadrian.

It would be interesting to analyze the technical details of these carvings in order to state whether they depend on earlier or contemporaneous Hellenistic models in metal or on slightly earlier Indian models such as some Śuṅga terracottas, sculptures from Bhārhut or the *yakṣā* from Pitalkhora. Actually I



FIGURE 2.1. Fragment with warriors and elephant. Main stūpa Saidu Sharif I. Schist, 45 x 44.5 cm. Inv. no. S1112. Courtesy IsIAO.

think that the Indian connection or affinity of early Gandhāran art has generally been underestimated by scholars.[11] I am not really thinking of an Indian influence – I am inclined, rather, to believe that there was an eastern Hellenistic environment (a school of art, to put it in Western terms) that was characterized by patterns of presumably Near-Eastern origin that spread over India in pre-Kuṣāṇa times, lingering in the Northwest during the first century of our era.

Here I wish to emphasize the fact that some of the reliefs belonging to this group do not show the Buddha in human form, a peculiarity of the early Indian Buddhist sculpture such as that from Bhārhut and Sāñcī, a confirmation of the hypothesis that this group represents the very beginning of Gandhāran art. I wish to recall what Gérard Fussman said in a paper read in

1991 at a Franco-Japanese symposium on "Bouddhisme et cultures locales" and published in 1994: he emphasized that although mingled with other cultures, the culture of the people of Gandhāra was substantially Indian.[12] It would be interesting to investigate how deeply Indian culture penetrated into the various layers of Gandhāran society.

In connection with the definition of this drawing group of reliefs, the study of the data collected from the Italian excavations at Saidu Sharif I appears to be very promising. Saidu Sharif I has already been the object of a detailed excavation report, which safely places the Main Stūpa in the first period, i.e., between the middle and the end of the first century CE.[13] The Italian Archaeological Mission was fortunate to find a consistent though very fragmentary group of reliefs from its narrative frieze. This is something of the greatest importance because it is the only instance of a monumental frieze that is at least partially preserved: the other Gandhāran narrative friezes that more or less survive were attached to smaller stūpas such as the Sikri stūpa at Lahore and the one from Loriyān Tāṅgai at Calcutta.

The frieze from Saidu Sharif I belongs to the so-called drawing group and therefore testifies to an early flourishing of monumental art in Swāt. Faccenna's study of the Saidu frieze deals with both the archaeological and the stylistic aspects of this important sculptural group.[14] The iconographical analysis of the frieze is also extremely interesting: surprisingly, there is no surviving detail that definitely tells us whether Siddhārtha was represented in human form or by means of symbols in this frieze.

The archaeological evidence from Saidu Sharif I is also very important because it allows us to connect the early phase of Buddhist monumental architecture in Swāt with the lingering manifestations of the protohistorical culture documented by graveyards. Faccenna has rightly emphasized the fact that one of the graves found there "is dug out of the layer 4a filling the foundation trench ... of the Monastery perimeter wall." In his opinion, it is to "be considered a grave to be used for a new burial during the time the new complex was being built, ... the last burial before the graveyard was finally sealed off ... by the same social group that had been using it up to that time."[15] Though it is a secondary burial, this direct contact between the two archaeological complexes – pre-Buddhist graveyard and Buddhist sacred area – is to be explained in the perspective illustrated by Gregory Schopen.[16] However, Saidu Sharif I adds something more to the previously known cases of continuity or occupation, as it appears that graves were still dug when monumental monasteries and stūpas were being built; and we must not forget that the main stūpa at Butkara I possibly dates back to the 3rd century BCE! This circumstance, along with other evidence, which is discussed in the following chapter by Pierfrancesco Callieri, should push us to carefully analyze the

transitional period from pre-Buddhist to Buddhist times. It is important to check whether Buddhism was introduced in Swāt, and perhaps in Gandhāra, not as a new marginal and slowly emerging faith, but rather as an already fully developed and dominant religion supported by the most affluent classes of the society.

In connection with the evidence from Saidu Sharif I, I wish to point out that the choice of the scenes represented in the reliefs and their order in the frieze is a very significant aspect of Gandhāran art that has gone unremarked. Gandhāra produced not only isolated images and paradisiacal scenes such as triads (apparently not so popular in Swāt), but also, in its early phases, narrative scenes arranged in a sequence that appears to be chronological. As the episodes of the Buddha's life were to be read by the devotee during the performance of the *pradakṣiṇa*, their succession was necessarily from right to left. Even when the scenes are not easily identifiable, we can take for certain that the one on the right precedes the one on the left. Elsewhere, I have attempted to show that this technique does not find any real counterpart in the Hellenistic West or in India.[17] Close analogues are found in the West no earlier than the fourth century CE, even if a significant precedent can be recognized in such Hellenistic narratives as the story of Telephos in the Pergamon Altar (presumably 165–156 BCE). But one should remember that the Telephos frieze is continuous in its composition, not divided into neatly individualized scenes – the continuous style is a solution adopted by the Gandhāran artists in only a few cases.

The way in which the various scenes of the Buddha's life are linked to one another around a given stūpa is a reflection of a particular understanding of the Buddha himself and a particular reception of the message of his life by the devotees. To have at our disposal a certain number of complete (or almost complete) friezes arranged in a definitively established order amounts to getting a deeper insight into the nature of the Buddhism practiced at that time in the Northwest. The question becomes even more stimulating when we recall that among the reliefs of the drawing group there are some that do not reproduce the Buddha in human form – a choice that connects the group even more closely to the Indian reliefs from Bhārhut and Sāñchī.[18]

Stylistic Analysis, Archaeological Evidence of the Reuse of Sculptures, and Related Problems

Archaeological evidence allows us to escape the dangers of a discussion based on stylistic and technical data, provided it is interpreted cautiously. I was surprised to read in a very good book by the eminent scholar Marylin M. Rhie that a particular green schist panel on the Great Stūpa at Butkara I is to be dated to about the mid-fourth century CE.[19] Rhie writes that the latest of

the coins found behind the panel are dated by Robert Göbl to about 356/360.[20] Because the coins were probably a hasty votive deposit at the time when the relief slab was reset during restoration after an earthquake, Rhie writes, the date of the latest coins provides a fairly reliable date for the votive donation – which is very reasonable. She adds that "the relief was clearly carved sometime before it was reset and the coins deposited"; moreover, as its style "is not a classical 1st-3rd century Gandhāran style, and in fact is relatively close to the style of the Four Tetrarchs statue [in the Palazzo Ducale, Venice] that was probably carved in Egypt and installed in Constantinople ca. early 4th century CE, it is likely to be a style no earlier than the early 4th century. Taking all these factors into account, it seems most reasonable that [our relief] was carved sometime around the middle of the 4th century and was probably reset ca. late 4th century after the earthquake."[21]

All this is unfortunately untenable. Domenico Faccenna, in his paper published in *East and West* that provides the basis for Rhie's conclusions, wisely refrained in the section titled "The Deposit of Coins and the Chronological Evidence They Provide" from suggesting that any chronological conclusion could be inferred concerning the relief itself. In his extremely cautious way, he describes the relief without even hinting at the possibility of suggesting a date.[22] This should have warned Dr. Rhie against the dangers of a too mechanical and hurried use of the archaeological datum. Not to say that I do not see any stylistic affinity between our relief at Butkara I and the Venice Tetrarchs.

Recent contributions by Domenico Faccenna have shed light on the problem of chronology, especially insofar as the relative chronology of the so-called drawing group and the somewhat later and more Hellenizing artistic production.[23] We are now in a position to say that the relief discussed by Marylin Rhie cannot be so late as the fourth century; it is uncertain how much later it is than the decoration of stūpas 14, 17, and 27, but its stylistic affinity with them is quite evident, and we can reasonably propose for it a date no later than the end of the first century CE or so.

In this case the information obtained from the archaeological evidence is very important. If we rely on the numismatic evidence we can now be fairly sure that the sacred area of Butkara I, one of the richest in Swāt in the earlier years of Buddhist activity, was not able to obtain newly made stone sculptures for decorating its main stūpa around the end of the fourth century. The relief under discussion was only a fragment when it was reset in the stūpa's niche and, as Faccenna puts it, "nothing is known of the provenance or figurative context of the original relief."[24]

The reuse of reliefs and fragments of reliefs or sculptures in contexts different from their original ones, and often with no apparent consistency, is a phenomenon that appears to be fairly widespread and presumably not limited to

a short time span. It is in evidence at Butkara I, not only for the Great Stūpa but also in conjunction with several smaller stūpas, among which nos. 24 and 70 are noteworthy. This reuse evinces very little or no interest in the subjects represented in the sculpture; it appears rather to have been a gesture of piety toward old sacred material and perhaps an easy way to decorate a votive stūpa without being compelled to spend much money on having new images made, either in stone or, more frequently, in stucco. The connection between reused green-schist sculptures and freshly modeled stucco is also documented at Butkara I, where some of the reused and fragmentary reliefs were "completed," somewhat clumsily, in stucco.

It is to be regretted that the unsophisticated excavation methods of the past prevent us from understanding whether the "heaps of 'buts' [stubs]"[25] found at Sahrī-Bahlol were recent collections of pieces ready to be offered on the antique market, or were actually ancient deposits of damaged sculptures destined for reuse in the same or some other sacred area.

Another instance of reuse has been found at Shnaisha, a very interesting Buddhist sanctuary in the Saidu valley, Swāt. The site was excavated in 1989 and 1990 by the Department of Archaeology and Museums of the Government of Pakistan and the Department of Archaeology of Peshawar University; the quantity of work done is admirable, though it is to be regretted that the circumstances under which the excavation took place did not allow our Pakistani colleagues to carry it on with the usual and desirable care. I have expressed some reservations regarding the reports published, in a note that appeared in *East and West*;[26] it is therefore unnecessary to take up the matter again. But I wish to emphasize the importance of the images flanking cell no. 2,[27] which, in the opinion of Abdur Rahman, "were fresh additions to the sculptural wealth of the main stūpa, and not simply materials from an earlier period reused afresh."[28] This is also untenable for many reasons: the pieces were not fixed to the stūpa but instead had been placed on the base moulding, a highly unsuitable place to put images under normal circumstances; the pieces were already broken when they were placed on the moulding; and it also appears that they were placed there approximately at the same time when stucco sculptures were added to the stūpa. It is therefore clear that they are reused pieces, recovered from earlier sculptural complexes and placed in a spot that appears to have remained the main devotional attraction of the site – a Maitreya chapel. A more accurate excavation might have given us more precise information on the transition from a predominant use of stone to an almost exclusive use of stucco, which is a critical turning point in the history of Gandhāran art. It is nevertheless interesting to observe that most of the reused pieces at Shnaisha were images, or icons, if you prefer – not parts of narrative friezes, as is sometimes the case at Butkara I. There was undoubtedly

a deliberate selection: it appears that this particularly sacred chapel, no. 2, at Shnaisha required the presence of cult images (although among the reused sculptures there is, curiously placed on the moulding, a Corinthian capital, which is not an icon in itself but contains a Buddha image emerging from the acanthus leaves and could therefore be reused as an icon).

Another interesting case of reuse is documented in a report on the excavation at Marjanai (Swāt) by Shah Nazar Khan of the Department of Archaeology at the University of Peshawar: here, on the cornice of the lower drum of one of the small stūpas, "four stucco sculptures were found evenly spaced and still in situ."[29] As a matter of fact, the two photographs reproduced as pls. 4b and 8a in the report show only three pieces (unless the one on the left is counted as two because it is broken into two fragments), and the one on the right is unrecognizable; the broken piece (presumably a slab from a *harmikā*) on the left is apparently made of schist, but the fragment of a Buddha image is made of stucco. This is important because it means that the reuse of fragments of broken sculptures was not limited to early schist pieces, but also included the later stuccoes, which is a further hint for the very late date of this practice.

In conclusion, we have three different kinds of reuse of earlier sculptures: (1) as building material; (2) as decoration for newly built or restored monuments; (3) as offerings laid on the cornice of a stūpa or close to some particularly important image.

An accurate recording of reused sculpture may improve our current understanding of the history of Buddhist ritual practice in Gandhāra and its chronological developments: it is clear that a fragment of sculpture reused in a stūpa finds a reliable *terminus ante quem* if the stūpa itself is stratigraphically datable. Moreover the presence of reused pieces in the monuments of a sacred area bears witness to a particular standard of religious and economic activity. It has been observed that unlike Butkara I and Butkara III, the sacred area of Panṛ, excavated by the Italian Archaeological Mission, yielded pieces of schist and soapstone reused in masonry structures serving as retaining walls, not in religious monuments.[30] At Saidu Sharif I, such pieces were reused as simple building material and were not visible. In this case the practice of reusing old fragments documents the destruction of earlier buildings, though at the same time it shows that the sacred area had not undergone a process of decadence.

Archaeological Evidence from Urban Settlments in Gandhāra

Further evidence concerning chronology is to be expected in excavations of urban areas. Old excavations, such as Taxila and Chārsadda, were not so generous from this point of view – you will remember that the few fragments of

Gandhāran sculptures found in layer 14 of the Bala Hisar (Ch. 1), far from being dated on stratigraphical grounds, helped Sir Mortimer Wheeler in approximately dating the layer.[31] But further excavations at Shaikhān Ḍherī yielded some well-preserved Gandhāran sculptures from the House of Naradakha.[32]

Unfortunately, in his excavation report Ahmad Hasan Dani did not clearly describe the exact conditions in which the sculptures were found.[33] According to him, they "were introduced into the house" during the reign of Kaniṣka, a dating based on radiocarbon: CE 93 appears to be the year in which the roof of the house was burned and buried the courtyard of the house.[34] The fact that no sculpture was found in the House of Naradakha from the preceding period (Vima Kadphises) led Dani to write that, contrary to what was believed by, among others, J.E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, the very beginnings of Gandhāran art were to be placed in the time of Kaniṣka.[35] Needless to say, we cannot share this kind of *argumentum e silentio;* moreover, F. Raymond Allchin showed many years ago that Dani's opinion was "based upon an incorrect interpretation of the radio-carbon dates" and did not take the numismatic evidence into proper consideration.[36]

The pieces recovered from the House of Naradakha appear to be a collection of high-quality devotional objects, among which a fragment of a red-sandstone Buddha image from Mathurā and a strongly Indianized cruciform casket are outstanding. It is obviously dangerous to argue from such finds, which may just represent the accumulated heritage of a pious family. The fact remains that two of the other images from the House of Naradakha – a Hāritī and a seated Buddha in *abhayamudrā* – are stylistically very similar to each other and were both attributed by Dani to the Kaniṣka period. If the layer in which they were found could be safely attributed to this or any other period, we could certainly take this evidence as fairly satisfactory. Unfortunately that is not the case.

I have dealt at length with this comparatively old and already much debated find because it gives me the cue to introduce a less known, though no less important, similar find from Swāt. In a stratified inhabited area at Barikot, the Italian Archaeological Mission found two bodhisattva images made of gray schist (see Callieri, Chapter 3 in this volume, figs. 3.7 and 3.8), which are to be dated to mid-second to late third century CE.[37] From the point of view of style, the two bodhisattvas are fairly similar to the two sculptures from Shaikhān Ḍherī described above, although they are perhaps a little later, if the peculiar double line of the folds is chronologically symptomatic. In any case, I do not think that there can be a large gap between the two groups; I am therefore inclined to support Allchin's rejection of the date

proposed by Dani for the two sculptures from the House of Naradakha; a date between the second and third centuries CE appears to be more likely. Approximately the same date can be attributed to the pieces from Shnaisha I have already discussed.

Pierfrancesco Callieri has kindly drawn my attention to another interesting find from Barikot: a fragment of a stucco head with a very elongated eye (see fig. 3.11 in his chapter in this volume) of the type commonly found in any Gandhāran or post-Gandhāran excavation, and which can generally be dated to a fairly late period. What makes it an important document is that it was found (with a fragment of a drapery, also made of stucco, see fig. 3.12 in this volume) in "the filling of the foundations of a room adjoining the outer NE corner" of the stūpa-court in Trench BKG 4 (Period VIII), along with a considerable number of coins which suggest a dating around the fourth or fifth century CE. According to Callieri, "it is likely that the sculptures were originally intended as a decoration for a monument in the nearby stūpa-court." Since the fragment had already been discarded at that time, we are inclined to assign it a date no later than the fourth century. This is not disconcerting, though I confess that I would have suggested a date sometime in the fifth century or even later on the grounds of style only.

Another interesting late piece is a gray-schist image of a seated goddess holding a flower in her right hand and a cornucopia in her left (see fig. 3.13 in this volume), perhaps Śrī or Hāritī.[38] It belongs to Period VIII, i.e. between the fourth and fifth centuries CE, but here again we can use this archaeological/numismatic datum only as a *terminus post quem non*.[39]

New Archaeological Evidence: Sculpture and Architecture

Let us now consider some of the excavation reports that have appeared in recent years, which teach us something about the life of Gandhāran sculptural artifacts. By "life" I mean both the acts of patronage/production and those of fruition by the receivers.

In a useful report on the research at Thareli (northwest of Jamāl Gaṛhī) edited by Seiichi Mizuno and Takayasu Higuchi, our Japanese colleagues did not propose a relative chronology for the discovered Gandhāran sculptures, but found some interesting confirmation for the time of transition from mainly narrative stone sculpture to that executed in stucco.[40] They wrote: "The content of the Thareli sculptures ... indicates temporal change. The earliest representations are relief works, mostly in stone, depicting the *Jātaka* Tales and the Buddha's Legend. Representations of Buddhas and bodhisattvas are somewhat later, and consist for the most part of stucco sculptures in the round, although stone sculptures also occur. The latest group of representations are

group figures of Buddhas, bodhisattvas, monks, and worshippers, which are predominantly reliefs done in stucco."[41] Nothing new, but it is refreshing to see old theories confirmed by fresh archaeological evidence.

Thareli also provides almost unique evidence concerning the original use of the Buddha and bodhisattva images we have already met at Shnaisha and Barikot: sculptures that appear to be in the round when seen frontally, though they actually are reliefs cut along the figures' outlines. One of them was found in situ in Shrine D26: it is a seated Buddha in *abhayamudrā* located on the left side of a niche against the side wall of a shrine.[42] In the back wall of the niche there was a small square hole which "probably served to anchor a figure"; it is a pity that the authors do not tell us how the Buddha was fixed to the wall when found in situ – if it was actually fixed to it – whether there was any tenon below, etc. This kind of information is what we badly need. This Buddha appears to be in an appropriate and therefore presumably original location, though I must say that the masonry technique appears to be rather late, perhaps later than the image.

At the end of this brief survey, I would like to list some archaeological excavations that appear to have brought to light very important shrines, though the reports we have until now do not allow us to understand their importance fully. Such is the case of Ranigat (Buner), excavated by a Kyoto University Scientific Mission to Gandhāra headed by Koji Nishikawa,[43] which did not seem to be able to keep the same scientific standard as the Japanese missions headed in the past by Mizuno and Higuchi. The site had a very long life and the amount of sculpture recovered is great, but for the time being we have no reason to believe that it will ever be possible to connect them with stratigraphy.

I have already referred to Shnaisha, which was a "rescue excavation" and thus was carried out hastily and under the pressure of various unfortunate circumstances. Butkara III was a regular excavation conducted by the University of Peshawar, but the reports published so far are not very illuminating.[44] I hope that the work that is being done on the sculptures collected and kept in the Department of Archaeology at the University of Peshawar will soon provide us with some useful new data. Even when the characteristics of a site prevent us from connecting sculptures to stratigraphy, a reconstruction of the decorative contexts, including narrative friezes, can be attempted after the excavation and can lead to important information, as in the case of Saidu Sharif I.

I take this opportunity to emphasize how unfortunate the decision was to call the site "Butkara III" – it is actually one and the same with Butkara II, known for the graveyard excavated and written about by the Italian Archaeo-

logical Mission. Not unlike Saidu Sharif I and so many other sites in Swāt, this is an example that shows the continuity from protohistorical graveyard to Buddhist religious settlement, and the change of name, even if only from "II" to "III," may lead scholars to disregard this interesting connection.

Another rescue excavation was the one at Haji Shah Morr, not so far from Attock; the excavation report by Muhammad Sharif is nicely illustrated with both site plans and photographs.[45] The author laments that nothing new was discovered concerning Gandhāran art: "With respect to the identification of those decorative images ... the new examples from Haji Shah Morr do not seem to help very much our previous iconographical knowledge. Over and over again, we have only been able to recognize Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, Vajrapāṇi, Devas, Yakshas, and in these generic denominations we have not succeeded in super-adding any proper name. Upon the whole, therefore, the excavations at Haji Shah Morr do not bring any substantial addition to the pantheon of the Gandhāra school, we can only say that they provide some stepping-stones for future discoveries."[46] We must certainly appreciate the lack of presumption of these words, which contrast strongly with the bombastic conclusions of many useless reports; nevertheless, on the grounds of the photographs reproduced in the Sharif report, I wish to underscore the importance of the two fragments depicted in plates XXVIIIb and XXIXa: the vaguely Dionysian groups of figures, which go beyond the outline of the pilasters on which they are depicted, constitute an unusual pattern in narrative friezes and appear to be linked to some artistic trend of the Hellenistic "Baroque." If other fragments from the same frieze were found, it is to be hoped that Sharif will publish the whole series, or whatever survives of it, with a careful description of each piece. Another unusual artifact depicted in one of the illustrations in the same report (pl. XIXb) is a crouching lion with two human feet, decorating the second tier of the enclosure wall of stūpa court B. Apart from the stimulating question it poses from the point of view of iconography, it would be interesting to learn whether this lion and the figure standing nearby were part of the original decoration or rather were later additions.

The excavations at Marjanai, near Kabal, on the right bank of the Swāt river, are the subject of the preliminary report by Shah Nazar Khan that I discussed above.[47] The report does not provide many details, but the information given is clear. I wish to call attention to the fact that, in Khan's words, all the sculptures found "came from votive stūpa #3 in Trench B-4. They are mostly carved out of green phyllite, with the exception of a few pieces moulded in stucco ... All the stone sculptures were collected from the fallen debris."[48] I hope that the exact finding place of each piece was carefully recorded;

in any case, even if this accurate recording was not possible or was not deemed to be useful, it will not be difficult to reconstruct the whole decoration of this votive stūpa, which was sheltered by a chapel and was found in fairly good condition, only the *aṇḍa* having been lost.

The stone sculptures from Marjanai can be divided into four groups: (1) a frieze with stories of the Buddha's life, alternating with narrow panels that contain standing figures in various attires, with Kharoṣṭhī letters carved on the base fillet (h. ca. 18 cm); (2) a frieze consisting of a row of carinated arches sheltering various characters (Buddha, devotees, etc.) or cult objects (tree, turban), alternating with Persepolitan columns with Kharoṣṭhī letters carved on the base fillet (h. ca. 14/15 cm); (3) a frieze consisting of scenes of the Buddha's life alternating with framed Corinthian pilasters (h. ca. 17 cm); and (4) a miscellaneous group containing a seated Buddha image, a seated bodhisattva image, a false gable, and a fragment of a two-tiered frieze. It is very interesting to observe that groups 1 and 2 appear to be a local variant of the Butkara I so-called "drawing style," with very peculiar and unusual characteristics (the volumes are much more emphasized); because they comprise eight and twelve pieces, respectively (counting only the ones that are reproduced) it seems highly probable that they represent the original decoration of the stūpa. Group 3 consists of only three pieces (one uncertain) and appears to be stylistically different from both 1 and 2. I am therefore inclined to believe that the three pieces were a later addition to the chapel, just like the fragments I have listed in group 4 and the stucco piece(s) discussed above.

The frieze with carinated arches, discussed by Pia Brancaccio in Chapter 9 of this volume, can be compared to similar pieces from other Swāti sites such as Shnaisha, Andandheri, Ramora, and Butkara I. However, the frieze with the scenes from the Buddha's life cannot be compared stylistically with any other pieces from known excavations. It is true that several pieces from the sites excavated in the Chakdara area (also on the right bank of the Swāt river) show features departing from the mainstream of Gandhāran art in Swāt, but here at Marjanai we are facing an even clearer phenomenon of provincialism, or localism. The models are obviously those of the main centres on the left bank of the Swāt river, such as Butkara I and Saidu Sharif I, but the execution is somehow clumsier, though not devoid of effectiveness. There is a great gap between the splendid and refined execution of the reliefs from the frieze of the main stūpa at Saidu Sharif I and these modest imitations. Nevertheless, the importance of the existence of a local "school" on the right bank of the Swāt river in the early period of Gandhāran art can be hardly overemphasized. Further research will, one hopes, lead us to a better knowledge of this interesting phenomenon.

Our perception of the late sculptural production in the Northwest Frontier Province of Pakistan has recently been much enriched by the publication, in a very useful book by Shoshin Kuwayama, of some old photographs kept in the British Library that show the stucco (or, better, clay) decoration of the main stūpa at Shāh-ji-ki Ḍherī.[49] The seated Buddhas on inverted lotus flowers and Kuwayama's acute commentary on them open a new perspective for the study of the post-Gandhāran period, for they represent a link between such sites as Fondukistan and Tapa Sardar (Ghaznī) in Afghanistan on one side and Ushkar on another. A few fragments of clay images from Shāh-ji-ki Ḍherī (at least two heads) are on display in the cases of the Peshawar Museum, and their affinity with Tapa Sardar had already been observed, but the photographs published by Kuwayama provide us with an unexpected and really impressive documentation that profoundly alters our evaluation of the cultural unity of the area from Afghanistan to Kashmir in the post-Gandhāran period. I fully agree with him when he suggests a date in the eighth to ninth centuries CE for the last phase of the main stūpa at Shāh-ji-ki Ḍherī, which is the time when the "frieze" of Buddhas was added. This dating matches perfectly with what I have proposed for the end of clay-sculpture production at Tapa Sardar.

Archaeological information stored in archives both in England and on the subcontinent appears to be extremely promising. The work done by Elisabeth Errington, Francine Tissot, and Shoshin Kuwayama has proved to be as revelatory as new excavations.

It is also important to remember that our colleagues in the Department of Archaeology and Museums of the government of Pakistan are seriously engaged in a work of rescue and protection of antiquities in the Gandhāran area, an activity that is often opposed not only by art dealers and treasure-seekers, but even by those governmental institutions that would be expected to assist them in their difficult task. We must consider with gratitude and even admiration the tenacious work of exploration and survey carried on by the devoted officials of the Department, who work in the footsteps of the pioneers of the past – Sir Aurel Stein, Evert Barger, Philip Wright, and Giuseppe Tucci. A book recently published by the Department, *Archaeological Reconnaissance in Gandhāra 1996*, bears testimony to this meritorious work.[50] Equally valuable is the survey of the Chārsadda District carefully conducted by Ali Ihsan of the University of Peshawar.[51]

Gandhāran art reserves surprises for many generations to come. It will be our responsibility to avail ourselves in the proper way of what the ground has kept untouched for centuries.

Notes

1 I would like to acknowledge here the great work done on Gandhāran Buddhist sanctuaries by Domenico Faccenna, former director of the Italian Archaeological Mission in Pakistan. If there is anything archaeologically ascertained in the field of Gandhāran art, this is chiefly due to the analysis of the excavations in Swāt that he carried out.
2 This was the subject of Dr. Tarzi's PhD dissertation, completed at the University of Strasbourg in 1991, which represents a turning point in the history of Gandhāran studies.
3 In the meantime, see Alram and Klimburg-Salter, *Coins, Art, and Chronology.*
4 Sims-Williams and Cribb, "New Bactrian Inscription."
5 Fussman, "L'inscription de Rabatak et l'origine de l'ère Saka," 572.
6 On this particular topic see the very good paper by Joanna Williams, "A Recut Aśokan Capital."
7 Zwalf, *Catalogue of Gandhāra Sculpture,* vol. 1, 67–76.
8 Dani, "Excavation at Andandheri"; Dani, "Excavation at Chatpat"; and Taddei, "Review of Dani, *Chakdara Fort and Gandhāra Art,*" respectively.
9 Faccenna, "Excavations of the Italian Archaeological Mission (IsMEO) in Pakistan."
10 Lohuizen-de Leeuw, "New Evidence with Regard to the Origin of the Buddha Image"; Fabrègues, "Indo-Parthian Beginnings of Gandhāra Sculpture"; Huntington, *Art of Ancient India;* Nehru, *Origins of the Gandhāran Style. A Study of Contributory Influences.*
11 See, for instance, Huntington, *Art of Ancient India.*
12 Fussman, "Upāya-kauśalya."
13 Faccenna, *Saidu Sharif I,* 2.
14 Faccenna, *Fregio Figurato.*
15 Faccenna, "Observations on the Two Complexes," 107.
16 Schopen, "Immigrant Monks."
17 Taddei, *Arte narrativa;* Taddei, "Oral Narrative, Visual Narrative, Literary Narrative."
18 Thus, we should not underestimate the importance of being able to attempt the reconstruction of a monumental frieze about 40 cm high and consisting of some 60 or 65 panels, belonging to the main stūpa of such a significant monastic complex as Saidu Sharif I. This is especially true when we know it is to be dated to a very early phase of Gandhāran sculpture. See Faccenna, *Fregio Figurato.*
19 Rhie, *Early Buddhist Art,* vol. 1, 297.
20 Faccenna, Göbl, and Khan, "Report on the Recent Discovery of a Deposit of Coins," 100–106.
21 Rhie, *Early Buddhist Art,* 297, n. 3.
22 Faccenna, Göbl, and Khan, "Report on the Recent Discovery of a Deposit of Coins," 111–13.
23 Faccenna, *Fregio Figurato.*
24 Faccenna, Göbl, and Khan, "Report on the Recent Discovery of a Deposit of Coins," 111.
25 Tissot, "Sahrī-bahlol (Part IV)."
26 Taddei, "Some Remarks on the Preliminary Reports Published on the Shnaisha Excavations, Swāt."
27 This cell contains the so-called Śiva Maheśvara, actually an image of the Bodhisattva Maitreya, as was brilliantly shown by Anna Filigenzi. See Filigenzi, "Buddhist Rock Sculptures in Swāt," 628; also her study *Il Bodhisattva Maitreya nell'arte rupestre dello Swāt,* 10–11.
28 Rahman, "Shnaisha Gumbat," 46.
29 Khan, "Preliminary Report of Excavations at Marjanai," 10.
30 Faccenna, Nabi Khan, and Nadiem, *Panr I.*
31 Wheeler, *Chārsada,* 19, 123–24.
32 Wheeler, *Chārsada.*
33 Dani, "Shaikhān Ḍherī Excavation," 28ff.

34 Ibid., 29.
35 Ibid., 39.
36 Allchin, "Cruciform Reliquary from Shaikhān Ḍherī," 16.
37 Callieri et al., *Bīr-koṭ-ghwaṇḍai*, 35.
38 Callieri, "Excavations of IsMEO at Bīr-koṭ-ghwaṇḍai," 346-47.
39 See Callieri, "Buddhist Presence in the Urban Settlements of Swāt," Chapter 3 in this volume, where he illustrates the importance of this and similar images for the study of the penetration of Buddhism in the Northwest.
40 Mizuno and Higuchi, *Thareli*.
41 Ibid., 164.
42 Ibid., 156, pl. 67.
43 Kyoto University Scientific Mission to Gandhāra, *Gandhāra 2*.
44 Rahman, "Butkara III," in *South Asian Archaeology 1987;* Rahman, "Butkara III," *Ancient Pakistan* 7.
45 Sharif, "Excavations at Haji Shah Morr."
46 Ibid., 56.
47 Khan, "Preliminary Report of Excavations at Marjanai."
48 Ibid., 13.
49 See Kuwayama, *Main Stūpa of Shāh-ji-ki Ḍherī*.
50 Rehman, *Archaeological Reconnaissance in Gandhāra 1996*.
51 Ihsan, *Settlement History of Chārsadda District*.

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3 Buddhist Presence in the Urban Settlements of Swāt, Second Century BCE to Fourth Century CE

PIERFRANCESCO CALLIERI

The understanding of early historic urban settlements has been one of the many goals of the IsIAO (formerly IsMEO) Italian Archaeological Mission in Swāt. The excavations launched by Giuseppe Tucci at the end of the 1950s included, in addition to the Buddhist sanctuary of Butkara I, the urban settlement at Udegram identified as the town of Ora that was conquered by Alexander the Great in 327 BCE. Unfortunately, the excavation at Udegram ended abruptly, and a report on it was published only in a preliminary form.[1]

The director of the Butkara excavation, Domenico Faccenna, realizing the importance of both sanctuaries and towns, excavated a small portion of the urban settlement adjacent to the Buddhist sanctuary. Tucci identified this town, largely buried by modern Mingora, as Meng jie li, the Uḍḍiyāna's capital, which Sir Aurel Stein had placed at modern Manglawar instead. A part of the ancient city layout was recognized from an aerial photograph taken in the 1950s, when the southern and eastern ends of Mingora were still free of modern buildings. Unfortunately the efforts of the archaeologists to save the site from the expansion of the present city have been unsuccessful, and the Butkara sanctuary is now almost completely surrounded by Mingora.

The same interest in civil architecture and urban planning led Faccenna to excavate two trenches at Barama. This site is on a hill overlooking the ancient city at Mingora and may have been one of its fortifications.[2]

However, among the main concerns of the IsMEO Mission were also Buddhist art and architecture, and the Buddhist sanctuaries of Panṛ I and Saidu Sharif I became the focus of excavations. Urban settlements and connected artifacts such as pottery and other craft productions were ignored until 1984, when excavations began under my direction at Barikot (Bīr-koṭ-ghwaṇḍai), a site identified with the town of Bazira conquered by Alexander.

At Barikot our goal was the preservation of one of the most important sites in all of Pakistan, one that was still largely free from modern buildings and thus open to archaeological investigation. Since 1984, only six excavation

campaigns have been possible, due to limited resources and the need for the Mission to cover different topics within the rich heritage of Swāt, from protohistory to Islam. The slow progress in the excavations reflects a strategy of digging deep trenches in different areas of the settlement in order to gather information about the stratigraphy and the structural layout.[3] Four main trenches were excavated, three of them on the plain, the fourth along the slope of the hill. During the last campaign, conducted in autumn of 1998, a fifth trench was started at the summit, but the international political situation forced us to stop our work. Apart from the scientific results, which are currently being prepared for final publication, an important goal has been achieved thanks to the active efforts of Saeed ur-Rehman, who was first the director of Sub-Regional Office Peshawar, and then the director general of the Department of Archaeology and Museums of the government of Pakistan. The site is now protected and, apart from minor damage, is still basically preserved as it was in 1984.[4]

Since my first excavation in Swāt in 1977, I have been struck by the ubiquitous presence of Gandhāran sculptures in the region – many Buddhist sanctuaries and monasteries in quiet side valleys are literally submerged in fragments of reliefs, with sculptures reused in the walls separating adjacent fields. Certainly Buddhism was well established in this area, but I wondered to which period most of these monasteries belonged.

The study of Buddhist architecture carried out by the Italian Mission in Swāt has shown that the earliest Buddhist sanctuary of Butkara I, whose establishment is placed by Faccenna in the third century BCE, was an isolated case. The other two sanctuaries excavated by the Italian mission, Panṛ I and Saidu Sharif I, were both built starting in the first century CE. Further, there is nothing to suggest an earlier date for the many other Buddhist sanctuaries that have been excavated or surveyed in Swāt. Judging from the provenanced coins brought to light during excavations and surveys, most of these monuments seem to date to the Kuṣāṇa, and particularly to the late Kuṣāṇa, periods. The regular and geometric plan of Saidu Sharif I monastery suggests that in it we have one of the earliest structures of this type.[5] The main stūpa here is one of the first examples of large monumental stūpas with square bases, and it is probably slightly later than the smaller square-base stūpas found at Butkara I (stūpas 14 and 17).

An extremely stimulating contribution put forth by Gérard Fussman in 1994 uses epigraphic and archaeological evidence to suggest a chronology for the spread of Buddhism in Gandhāra that partially agrees with the results of excavations of Buddhist monasteries in Swāt. The first monasteries were established near major settlements at the beginning of the third century BCE, with a further diffusion into the mountains in the second century BCE, and

two final waves, one in the first half of the first century CE and the other under the Kuṣāṇas. This picture is in harmony with the traditions of the Sarvāstivādins and Mūlasārvastivādins, according to whom the Buddhist preaching started under Aśoka and reached its peak under Kaniṣka.[6] The archaeological evidence from Swāt coincides with this picture, except for the diffusion into the mountains in the second century BCE, which is based only on epigraphic evidence such as the famous Menander casket from Bajaur. In his paper Fussman puts a great stress on the prevalence of local, "Brahmanical" elements in the earlier periods.

While most of the evidence considered in the scholarship focuses mainly on Buddhist monasteries, I intend to investigate the appearance of artifacts of an explicit Buddhist character in the urban settlements of Swāt. In an inhabited site, the superimposition of structural phases and periods marked by changes in planimetry – the succession of floors and layers – provides a longer and safer relative chronology than is the case for most Buddhist monasteries. Moreover, only the actual presence of Buddhism in inhabited areas offers reliable information on the real impact that this religion had on the local society.

Barikot is the urban site from Swāt that has been excavated to the greatest extent. It has an uninterrupted stratigraphic sequence from the second century BCE to the fourth to fifth centuries CE, and a later period of occupation in the Shāhi and Early Islamic periods. It overlaps fully with the history of the development of Buddhist architecture in Swāt, with the exception of the very beginning, the third century BCE, to which the foundation of the Butkara main stūpa has been dated.

If it is true that most of the artifacts of everyday life have little or no reference to the spiritual world of the people, it is also true that some objects with ritual or cultic function found their way into private houses.[7] Iconographic subjects chosen for artifacts of various natures, as well as epigraphic records, reveal the religious aspects of a society. After a review of different classes of objects found in our excavations, it became apparent that the numerous terracotta figurines produced in Swāt since the protohistoric period were likely to carry religious meanings. This applies not so much to the animal figurines, which could also be toys, but to the female figurines, for which Joachim Bautze has demonstrated a cultic purpose.[8] However, nothing could indicate the Buddhist presence better than a piece of the so-called Buddhist art of Gandhāra, in schist or stucco, or epigraphic references to the religious life.

At Barikot, out of a total of more than 1,100 inventoried objects, along with even more uninventoried fragments, no find with unmistakable Buddhist character has come to light in layers prior to the late second century

CE. Symbols ubiquitous in all of the Indian religions do appear, such as a *svastika* represented on a seal from a first-century CE layer in Trench BKG 1 (fig. 3.1) and on a ceramic pot from a first-century BCE layer in Trench BKG 4 (fig. 3.2). However, these emblems cannot be taken as a proof of the spread of Buddhism.

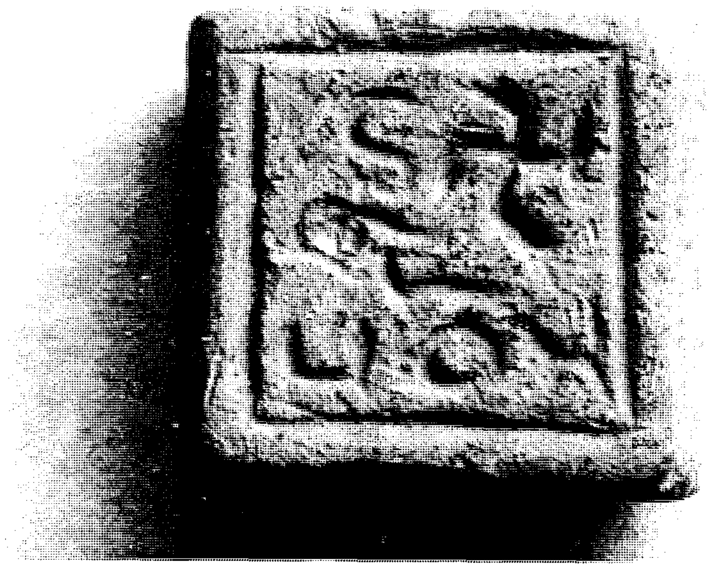
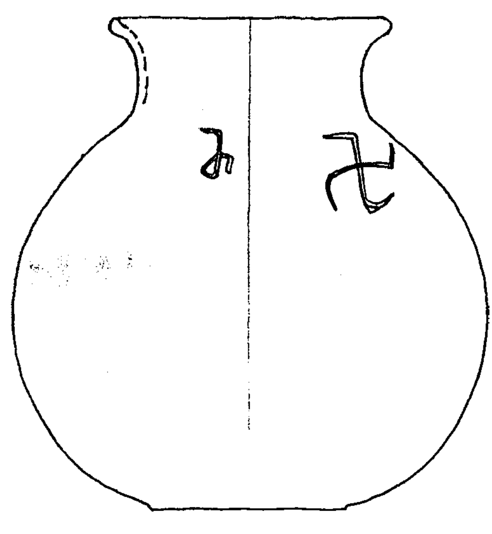


FIGURE 3.1. Seal. Bīr-koṭ-ghwaṇḍai (locus BKG 112, S.U. 129, Per.VI). 2.8 cm. Inv. no. BKG 720. Courtesy IsIAO.

FIGURE 3.2. Ceramic pot. Bīr-koṭ-ghwaṇḍai (locus BKG 419, S.U. 790, Per.V). 16.2 cm. Inv. no. BKG 1436. Courtesy IsIAO.



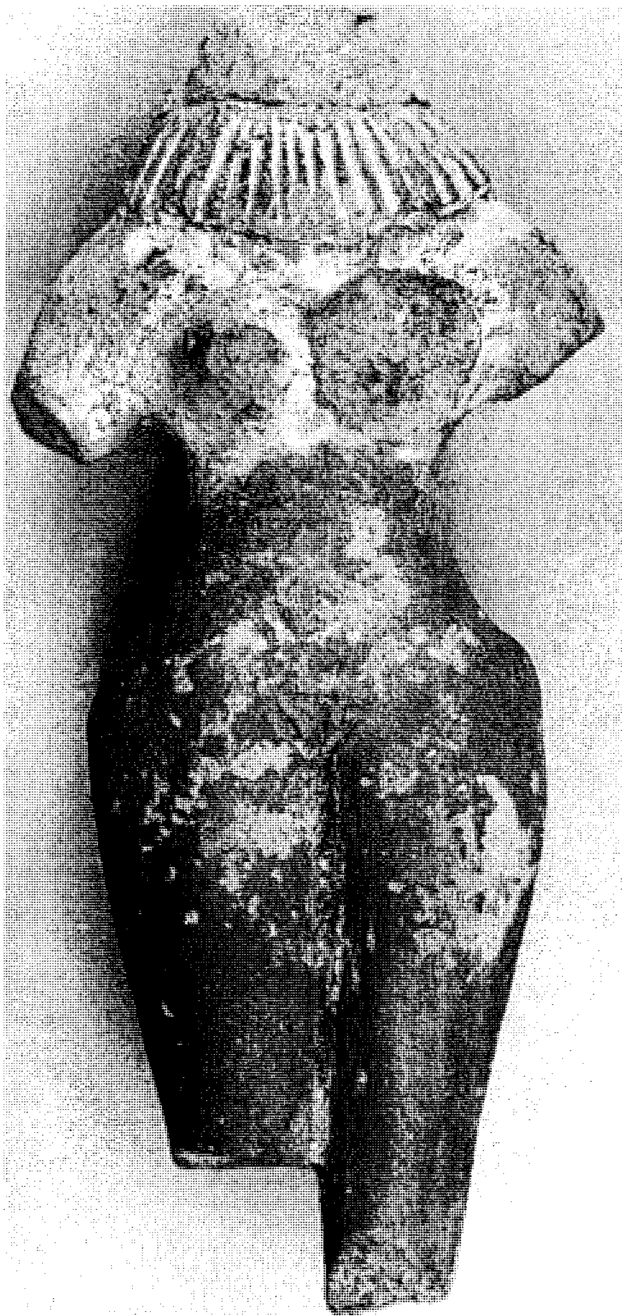


FIGURE 3.3. Terracotta female figurine. Bīr-koṭ-ghwaṇḍai (locus BKG 113, S.U. 273, Per. III). 12 cm. Inv. no. BKG 800. Courtesy IsIAO.

At the time when the important monasteries of Panṛ and Saidu Sharif were founded and the earliest "Gandhāran" sculptures at Butkara I were produced, in the urban settlements of Swāt the most common artifacts likely to have a cultic function were terracotta female figurines (fig. 3.3). They continued the protohistoric tradition, even though from the first century BCE they took on new, Hellenistic forms (fig. 3.4).

It should not surprise us that during the Indo-Greek, Śaka, and Parthian periods the population of Swāt, as well as of the rest of the northwest of the subcontinent, followed local cults that only partially can be identified as Brahmanical. Some of the most ancient examples of anthropomorphic images of gods in India, Saṃkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa, appear on Indo-Greek



FIGURE 3.4. Fragment of terracotta figurine. Bīr-koṭ-ghwaṇḍai (locus BKG 311, S.U. 399, Ph. 2a). 5 cm. Inv. no. BKG 1280. Courtesy IsIAO.

coins of Agathocles (190–180 BCE), and the goddess Ekanāṃśā on a coin of Pantaleon (ca. 190–185 BCE).

Also, the onomastic evidence from inscriptions, as rightly pointed out by Gérard Fussman,[9] shows a prevalence of names of a Hindu character, even in Buddhist contexts. As was the case in central India, the Buddhists obviously emerged from a Brahmanical environment. We would expect evidence of a larger diffusion of Buddhism in urban settlements during the Kuṣāṇa period, given the importance attributed by Buddhist sources to Kuṣāṇa patronage. However, at least as far as Barikot is concerned, only after the second century CE is a Buddhist urban presence clear.

In the main trench excavated at Barikot (BKG 4–5) a small Buddhist sacred area from period VI was found a short distance from the city wall (fig. 3.5), which can be dated to late-second to third century CE on numismatic grounds.[10] This Buddhist sanctuary is in a peripheral area of the settlement, but still within its perimeter. It is the first Buddhist sanctuary within an urban context brought to light in Swāt – Butkara I is just outside the limits of the settlement, even though adjacent. Unfortunately, plunderers at Barikot disturbed the sacred area, digging through the entire stratigraphy above the pavement and gutting the core of the stūpa. In the middle of the court stood a small stūpa of good stone masonry, measuring 2.1 by 2.1 m. The floor plan

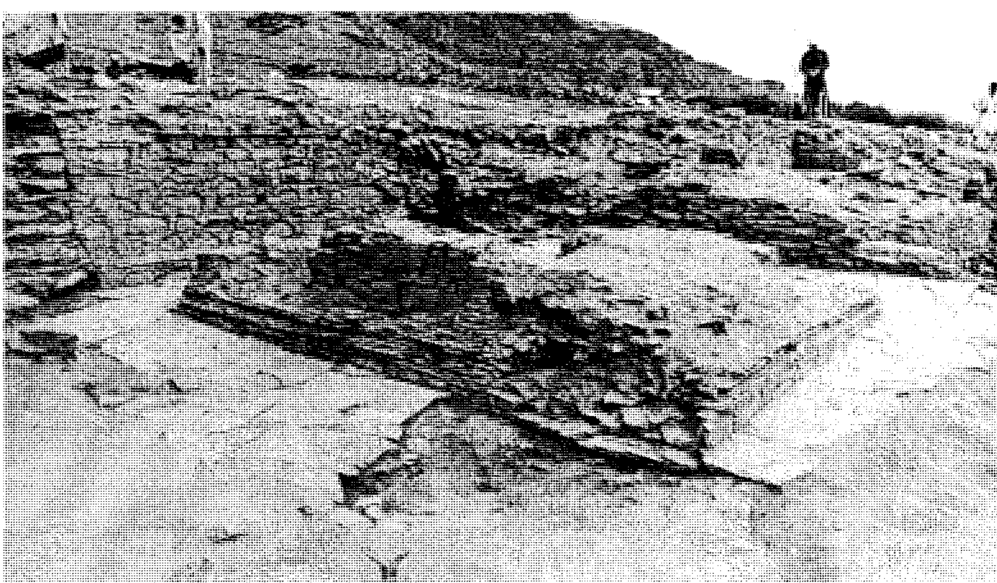


FIGURE 3.5. A view of the Buddhist sacred area in Bīr-koṭ-ghwaṇḍai (Trench BKG 4–5). Courtesy IsIAO.

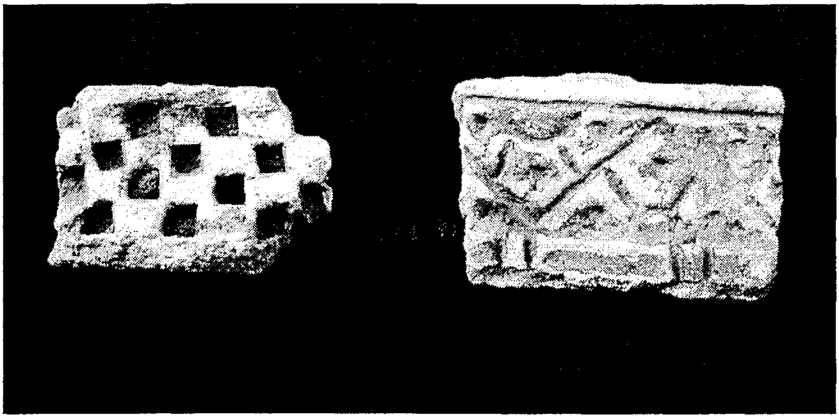


FIGURE 3.6. Fragments of the plaster decoration of the stūpa in Trench BKG 4-5, Bīr-koṭ-ghwaṇḍai. Courtesy IsIAO.

of the court in the earliest period is not completely clear, but was likely to be roughly square (5 by 4.2 m). The stūpa is square in plan and has foundations on which rest the base of the first story and stretches of the first-story wall. The base, with high plinth, has straight scotia-type moulding. The wall is decorated on each side with two pilasters and a moulded base, and corner pilasters are present. The remains of a plaster coating are visible on the wall, on the pilasters and on the face of the base plinth. Fragments of the stūpa plaster and schist decoration were also found in the loose layers filling the plunderers' hole (fig. 3.6).

In a stratigraphic unit from the end of the same period VI in the main trench BKG 4-5, corresponding to the third century CE, two Gandhāran steles came to light, each representing a seated bodhisattva (figs. 3.7 and 3.8). The two steles were found in one room of the dwelling unit to the northwest of the stūpa (locus 506). Minor fragments of Gandhāran sculpture were also discovered in other stratigraphic units of this period.

In another of our four excavated trenches (BKG 3), an interesting terracotta fragment came from Phase 2a of a large architectural complex, which appears to be some sort of palatial structure because of the imposing measurements of its rooms. This phase can be dated to the third to fourth centuries CE by the presence of late Kuṣāṇa coins of the Vāsudeva type.[11] This head of a small terracotta figurine found there could represent an image of the Bodhisattva Maitreya, but the uncertain crescent on its headdress leaves the interpretation open (fig. 3.9). The inexpensive medium employed for this head was also used in earlier periods for the female figurines of the local cults. This terracotta head, if its Buddhist origin could be confirmed, would be one of the most evident indicators of a real diffusion of Buddhism into the urban society.



FIGURE 3.7. Bodhisattva stele. Bīr-koṭ-ghwaṇḍai (locus BKG 506, S.U. 2581, Per. VI). Grey schist, 11.5 cm. Inv. no. BKG 1635. Courtesy IsIAO.

Fragments of Gandhāran sculptures are present also in the following period VII of the main trench BKG 4–5, which can be dated to around the fourth century CE on the basis of the presence of late and probably local issues of Kuṣāṇa coins, and a few Kuṣāno-Sasanian coins.[12] A small stucco head was found here that is very similar to the Buddhist ones in the region, representing an interesting example of the diffusion of this particular modeling technique (fig. 3.10). In this period the Buddhist sacred area in Barikot enjoyed a



FIGURE 3.8. Bodhisattva stele. Bīr-koṭ-ghwaṇḍai (locus BKG 506, S.U. 2581, Per. VI). Grey schist, 26.8 cm. Inv. no. BKG 1649. Courtesy IsIAO.



FIGURE 3.9. Fragment of terracotta figurine. Bīr-koṭ-ghwaṇḍai (locus BKG 311, S.U. 399, Ph. 2a). 3 cm. Inv. no. BKG 1298(Courtesy IsIAO.

good life, with five phases of structural expansion. The main episodes consist of the construction of two *vihāras* on the north side of the stūpa court and the paving of the court with a schist-slab floor.

In the following period VIII of trench BKG 4–5, dating to the fourth to fifth centuries CE, on the basis of the prevalence of Kuṣāno-Sasanian and late Kuṣāṇa coins, a third *vihāra* was added to the first two. In the layers filling the foundations of a room adjoining the outer northeast corner of the stūpa court were found stucco fragments of the head (fig. 3.11) and drapery (fig. 3.12) from a figure. It is likely that these fragments were originally part of the



FIGURE 3.10. Small stucco head. Bīr-koṭ-ghwaṇḍai (locus BKG 418, S.U. 669, Per.VII). 5.5 cm. Inv. no. BKG 1576. Courtesy IsIAO.

sculptural decoration for one of the *vihāras* in the nearby stūpa court. In the collapse stratigraphy of one of the rooms of the dwelling unit to the northwest of the stūpa (locus BKG 461, S.U. 1523), in front of a niche, a small Gandhāran stele of gray schist was found (h. 0.141 x 0.108 m; fig. 3.13). This seated goddess, unfortunately headless, holds a flower in her right hand and a cornucopia in her left. Of the latter, only the lower portion, in the shape of a caprid head, remains. The occurrence, in a late phase of the settlement, of this cultic image of a female deity, possibly Śrī or Hārītī, placed in a niche, would suggest the existence of a domestic sanctuary.[13] This find is significant because



FIGURE 3.11. Fragment of a stucco head. Bīr-koṭ-ghwaṇḍai (locus BKG 405, S.U. 1067, Per.VIII). 12 cm. Inv. no. BKG 1570. Courtesy IsIAO.

FIGURE 3.12. Fragment of stucco drapery. Bīr-koṭ-ghwaṇḍai (locus BKG 405, S.U. 1056, Per.VIII). 11 cm. Inv. no. BKG 1569. Courtesy IsIAO.

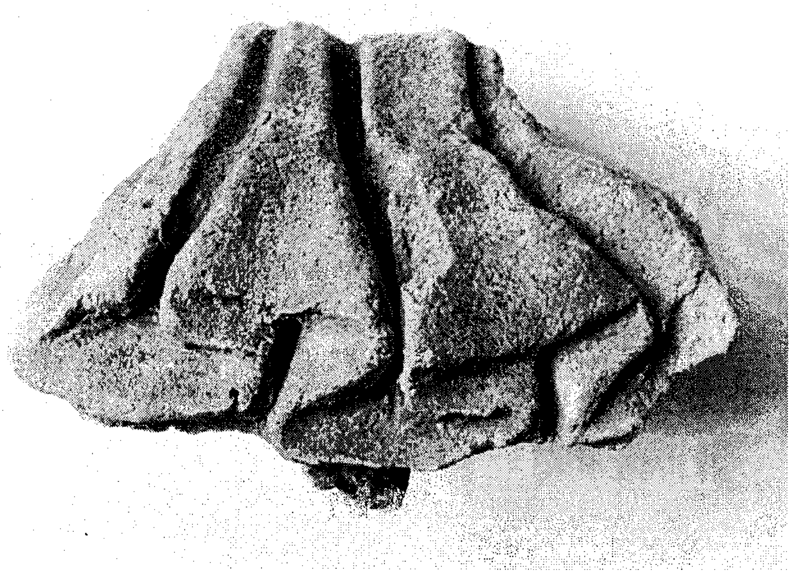




FIGURE 3.13. Stele showing a seated female deity. Bīr-koṭ-ghwaṇḍai (locus BKG 461, S.U. 1523, Per. VIII). Grey schist, 14.1 cm. Inv. no. BKG 1591. Courtesy IsIAO.

it sheds light on the function of Gandhāran images with similar iconographies found in settlements, such as the well-known Hārītī from the so-called House of Naradakha at Shaikhān Ḍherī or the one in Block C' at Sirkap. These goddesses likely represent a reemergence of the same form of local devotion that, prior to the development of stone sculpture, relied on terracotta figurines. Over time stone images came to be used, such as the early Taxilan female statuettes and later large Gandhāran schist sculptures.

It seems that only from the Kuṣāṇa period do we have clear evidence of Buddhism in the settlement. This trend is important because it shows that at a certain moment in Barikot history Buddhists started to become characterized by an urban identity. It is possible that the lack of a clear Buddhist presence in the early period is the result of a more discreet attitude on the part of the Buddhist community. However, it seems more likely that this absence corresponds to the lack of diffusion and importance of Buddhism among lay town dwellers of Swāt before the late second century CE, a date marked by a dramatic decline in the presence of terracotta figurines.

This picture would seem to be based on an *argumentum e silentio*, limited to the Swāt valley tradition. However, it is necessary to look at the Peshawar plain to check these interesting results from the mountains, as a parallel pattern of development seems a viable possibility. Taxila is the place to look for comparative evidence, because it is here that a series of urban centres have been excavated. Leaving aside the Buddhist sanctuaries surrounding Taxila, to which we will return, let us look at the structures and finds from the pre-Kuṣāṇa settlements of Bhir Mound and Sirkap.

The importance of the evidence from Taxila is not new to scholars who have addressed the origin of Gandhāran art. Johanna van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, for example, noted the absence of Buddha images from Sirkap and interpreted this as proof that the first Buddha images could have been made at the earliest during Vima Kadphises' reign.[14] However, the reassessment of Marshall's numismatic evidence done by the Canadian scholar George Erdosy, on the basis of a more objective examination of the numismatic evidence, suggests the need to reconsider this site as a whole.[15]

No structure of Buddhist character has been found at the Bhir Mound, a settlement that according to Erdosy started in the Achaemenid period and ended in the mid-second century BCE.[16] The Pillared Hall A of Stratum II, next to which terracotta reliefs representing male and female deities were found, was identified by Marshall as the earliest Hindu structure, even though it is different from later Hindu shrines.[17] However, we are left with no other specific indicators; thus it could be any type of shrine.[18] We should not necessarily interpret these particular finds from the Bhir Mound as Buddhist. The *nandipāda* represented on a black agate seal associated with the figure of a lion from Stratum II[19] cannot be classified as Buddhist because the *nandipāda*, as well as the *svastika*, are local Indian symbols.[20] The shell pendant in the form of a *triśūla* from Stratum I[21] is also open to multiple readings.

Even more striking is the situation at Sirkap, especially in view of the remarkable revision suggested by Erdosy that shifts Marshall's dating of the seven "strata" at least fifty years forward. Here, in the excavated blocks of the

town as well as in the palace, were found several buildings of definite cultic character, including the so-called "Apsidal temple" and a dozen small stūpas. Even though Marshall postulated a Jain presence on the basis of the terracotta ritual tanks found near the stūpas in Block A and in the palace, in the absence of other identifying features he attributed the rest of these monuments to the Buddhists.[22] Other "religious loci" have been recently identified by Coningham and Edwards through the interpretation of the distribution of "specific artifacts which appear ritually charged."[23] As they rightly pointed out, "some [of the religious or ritual loci] are clearly Buddhist, but others are clearly not, thus to suggest that Taxila was a Buddhist city is a misrepresentation of the evidence."[24] The largest cultic building at Sirkap, the Apsidal temple, was considered by Marshall to be Buddhist, on the basis of Cunningham's description of clay seated images and of recovered stucco fragments.[25] More recently, Coningham and Edwards describe the structure as a "long apsidal stūpa chapel," even though neither in Cunningham's nor in Marshall's report is there any trace of a stūpa.[26] Instead, the plan of the Apsidal temple is more reminiscent of the shrine excavated at Sonkh and attributed by H. Härtel to the *nāga* cult than it is reminiscent of the Buddhist *caitya* halls of western India, from which it differs structurally.[27] The stucco fragments found in the court by Marshall, characterized by remarkably Hellenistic forms, do not show any specifically Buddhist motif. Only a comprehensive study of the architectural features and the decoration of this monument, including Cunningham's early observations, may perhaps provide a clear attribution. As for the stūpas of Taxila, we are in the presence of an Indian architectural form that has not been used exclusively by Buddhists.[28]

Erdosy's chronological reappraisal of Sirkap modifies the common picture of this site. Most of the Sirkap stūpas belong to Strata III, II, and I.[29] The stūpa of Stratum III in Block E, described by Marshall as "one of the oldest stūpas known to us in the north-west of India" and dated by him to the "latter half of the first century BCE,"[30] would instead date to the beginning of the first century CE, making it approximately contemporary with stūpas 14 and 17 at Butkara I, with which it shares structural and decorative elements.[31]

I tried to examine non-architectural finds from Sirkap without a Buddhist bias. Several artifacts show "Brahmanical" iconographic motifs that were appropriated by Buddhism. There are very few objects having an intrinsic Buddhist character: a Gandhāran sculpture in House 1C of Block A, a Gandhāran head and a stūpa-shaped relic casket in House 2C of the same block,[32] and a few more, all of which belong to the Kuṣāṇa period. Of interest is the find in Block C' of a stūpa-shaped casket along with the above-mentioned stone image of a goddess with cornucopia and *polos,* which Marshall interprets as

an image of worship coming "either from the stūpa-shrine at the south-east corner of the block or from a small private shrine in the house where they were found."[33]

If we leave aside the preconception that Taxila is a centre where Buddhist art grew in its initial phase, the archaeological evidence shows us a town where the main religion was a local one. The small amount of specifically Buddhist art that does appear is concentrated in the Kuṣāṇa period. Even the earliest forms of stone sculpture found at Sirkap, defined by Marshall as "proto-Gandhāran,"[34] show a clear independence from Buddhist iconography, and probably represent the local artistic tradition chosen by Buddhism when it was time to create religious art.

Buddhist monasteries flourished in Taxila, but apart from the Dharmarājikā no others have clear pre-Kuṣāṇa layers. Instead, most of these monastic structures belong to late Kuṣāṇa and post-Kuṣāṇa periods. One of the few pre-Kuṣāṇa cultic buildings, the Jaṇḍiāl C temple, shows no similarities with later temples and has been interpreted in contrasting ways.[35] A recent study by Claude Rapin has proposed that the Jaṇḍiāl C temple might have sheltered images of the Pañcavīras, such as the ones appearing on the Indo-Greek coins of Agathocles (ca. 190–180 BCE) and Pantaleon (ca. 190–185 BCE).[36]

Further evidence comes from the important Gandhāran settlement of Chārsadda, identified with the ancient capital of Gandhāra, Puṣkalāvatī, which has been partly excavated by British and Pakistani archaeologists. At this site Buddhist architectural and sculptural evidence comes prevailingly from Kuṣāṇa-period layers. In trench Ch. I excavated by Sir Mortimer Wheeler at the Bālā Hiṣṣār, layer 14 yielded three fragments of schist Gandhāran sculptures, two of which are definitely Buddhist in character. The third object is a square receptacle with cavity and spout which Wheeler considers a testimony to the "occasional admixture of Hindu elements with the Buddhists [which] is not unfamiliar."[37] These schist sculptures are used by Wheeler to date the layer to the second through fourth centuries CE,[38] but the published ceramic evidence confirms a later dating. According to Pakistani excavator Ahmad Hasan Dani, at the large site of Shaikhān Ḍherī, area D, called the House of Naradakha from the name recorded on the base of a relic casket pedestal, was the residence of a Buddhist teacher of the period of Vima Kadphises. Problematic is the fact that the inscribed base was found in a layer of the middle Kuṣāṇa period, with coins of Kaniṣka and Huviṣka. Further, the first sculptures found in the house are attributed by Dani to the second period in the site sequence, which is dated to the early years of the reign of Kaniṣka on the basis of radiocarbon dating.[39] Finally, the house was transformed into a "veritable temple complex," with a Gandhāran Buddha statue installed on a high seat in one of the rooms, in a rebuilding that has a Huviṣka coin as a *terminus post*

quem.[40] Elsewhere in the town Dani found Gandhāran sculptures of the middle and late Kuṣāṇa period, and he places them correspondingly in groups A and B.[41] In Group A we have the famous Hārītī stele, a seated Buddha in *abhayamudrā,* a fragment of a red sandstone Buddha from Mathurā, and several pieces of relic caskets. In Group B there are three Buddhas, two bodhisattvas, and a stele with a four-armed goddess. More fragments, including some in stucco, are grouped under "Miscellaneous." It is unfortunate that the description of the stratigraphy does not allow an accurate chronological attribution; particularly problematic is the generic stratigraphic provenance of the sculptures from the middle Kuṣāṇa period, dated using coins of Kaniṣka and Huviṣka. In contrast, the description of the House of Naradakha goes so far in the other direction as to indicate which part of Kaniṣka's reign the objects belong to.[42] If we accept the chronology proposed by Dani, the first appearance of Buddhist sculpture would not antedate Kaniṣka's reign and, as Taddei has rightly pointed out, the style of these sculptures would instead indicate a date in the second to third centuries CE.[43] Although Dani states that "almost all the inscriptions belong to the Kuṣāṇa period and are generally Buddhist in nature," in the list he gives only two inscriptions – "of the monk Naradakha" and "of the sramana Saṁgha-buddha," dated to the middle Kuṣāṇa period, that are clearly Buddhist.[44]

When we consider the sum of archaeological evidence indicating the Buddhist presence in urban settlements of the Northwest, it is striking that there is an almost complete absence in pre-Kuṣāṇa layers and a weak presence during the Kuṣāṇa period. It is worth noting that at Mathurā, evidence from the German excavations at Sonkh also shows a remarkable prevalence of local cults[45] and a limited presence of Brahmanical sculptures.[46]

As to other comparative sources, Buddhist subjects would seem irrelevant to coins and particularly to seals throughout the periods from the Indo-Greeks to the late Kuṣāṇas.[47] The monastic rules prohibiting the use of valuable materials such as gemstones explain this in the case of members of the *saṁgha*. In the secular world, however, semiprecious stones of the finest craftsmanship record the local non-Buddhist pantheon, which in part is related to that of the Kuṣāṇa coinage. The seals indicate religious devotion to a goddess who, whether Śrī, Ardoxšo, Umā, or Hārītī, expresses concepts of fertility and fortune. They also show a male deity who is at times possible to identify as Kārttikeya, Śiva, or Pharro. We can call this couple the "Gandhāran tutelary deities." It is evident that specific cults, unconnected with Buddhism, were popular in the Northwest.[48] Their diffusion may also underlie the presence of non-Buddhist deities in Gandhāran sculpture. In this connection it is important to remember the testimony of Hesychius that supports the idea that Śiva in the form of a bull was known to the Greeks as a God of Gandhāra, Gandaros.[49]

If we maintain clear distinctions between categories of materials showing different techniques and values, the religious devotion expressed by the seals seems much closer to that of the terracotta figurines than to that of Gandhāran sculptures. Comparing the evidence from seals with evidence from coinage, it becomes obvious that the eclecticism of the Kuṣāṇas reflected in the proliferation of non-Buddhist deities is far more complex than has previously been thought, and that local religions must have been particularly intense – as is appropriate to the "frontier" character of the region.

To conclude, the first Buddhist monasteries in the Northwest, founded in the third or second century BCE at Taxila and Butkara I, with their purely Indian shape, represent the initial moment when Buddhism spread into this region. Even though the stūpas were called *Dharmarājikās,* Gérard Fussman has questioned their Aśokan foundation on the basis of the exiguity of the evidence.[50] However, at Butkara I the dating based on a single punch-marked coin dated to period I is corroborated by the secure attribution of the following last phase of period II to the late second century or beginning of the first century BCE. In contrast, the dating of Taxila's Dharmarājikā is based only on the name it bears in later inscriptions.

During the Indo-Greek and Śaka periods, a Hellenistic fashion in artistic production slowly penetrated and took root in the Northwest, giving birth to local artifacts such as toilet trays, seals, and metal objects.[51] It is at this time that the first stone sculptures appear that are commonly called "Early Gandhāran," even though their Buddhist character is purely hypothetical. At this stage, Buddhism was still a marginal belief, despite the relevant patronage of the Śakas shown by their dedicatory inscriptions.[52]

After the first century CE, more Buddhist sanctuaries were founded in the Northwest, and local craftsmen were recruited by the *saṁgha,* which was receiving strong new economic support, perhaps from the merchant classes or from wealthy groups probably not at ease in a traditional social structure such as the Hindu one. It is noteworthy that seals used mainly by the upper classes in this period represent local "tutelary deities" rather than Buddhist auspicious symbols as seen in later periods. This suggests that even for the newly converted upper classes, Buddhism did not completely replace local cults, and for some time remained a parallel religion.

It is an undeniable fact that Gandhāran Buddhist sculpture started at the end of the first millennium BCE and grew powerful in the Kuṣāṇa period. However, was Gandhāran art the fruit of a vast religious feeling? Urban archaeology shows that until the mature Kuṣāṇa period, few clear Buddhist signs are present within the settlements. Perhaps the flourishing of Gandhāran

art was not the *result* of Buddhist expansion, but *one of the means* through which Buddhism expanded – a strong visual propaganda, based on powerful economic support, that transformed the monasteries from isolated presences in a Hindu country into the main religious centres.

This situation lasted until the mature Kuṣāṇa times, when artifacts that are unmistakably Buddhist finally appear in urban sites. At Barikot we have evidence from this period of a Buddhist sacred area and Gandhāran sculptures within the everyday life of the settlement, and perhaps even Buddhist terracotta figurines ousting the traditional female images. Only then can this area be called a Buddhist land, and even so, local cults are still not completely eliminated, maintaining a marginal presence in Buddhist Gandhāran art.

The implications of these conclusions are many, and they affect chronology and political history. The idea that strong economic support was behind the diffusion of Buddhism provides new avenues for interpretation of the social and cultural aspects linked to this religious development. A study devoted to this problem in Āndhradeṣa has shown that, contrary to general belief, Buddhism was popular only in some parts of this land and was not necessarily linked to trade.[53] I hope that these suggestions coming from the limited archaeological evidence in the Northwest of the subcontinent and Āndhradeṣa will find a counterpart in the analysis of the diffusion of Buddhism at urban sites in the Gangetic plain and western India.

Notes

1 Gullini, "Udegram."
2 Faccenna, "Results of the 1963 Excavation Campaign at Barama I."
3 This information was also needed so that the Pakistani archaeological authorities could implement the Protection Act, which consists of a series of measures that allow preservation of the site. The most relevant measures are the prohibitions against erecting new buildings and against the use of bulldozers to level the fields.
4 The modern village of Barikot impinges on this large tract of open land, and the future of the site will depend on the government of Pakistan, to which the project "Save Bazira" was presented. On the part of the Italian Mission, interest in the site remains as strong as ever.
5 Callieri, *Saidu Sharif I ... Monastery,* 116; Faccenna, *Saidu Sharif I ... Stūpa Terrace,* 172.
6 Fussman, "Upāya-kauśalya," 20.
7 See Coningham and Edwards, "Space and Society at Sirkap, Taxila," 57–59.
8 Bautze, "Some Observations on Female 'Maurya' Terracotta Figurines."
9 Fussman, "Upāya-kauśalya," 40-42.
10 Callieri et al., *Bīr-koṭ-ghwaṇḍai 1990-1992,* 35.
11 Callieri, Filigenzi, and Stacul, "Excavations at Bīr-koṭ-ghwaṇḍai," 181.
12 Callieri et al., *Bīr-koṭ-ghwaṇḍai 1990-1992,* 35.
13 There is a possibility that this female image actually dates to an earlier period, as indicated by Taddei in Chapter 2 of this volume.

14 Lohuizen-de Leeuw, *The "Scythian" Period*, 99.
15 Erdosy, "Taxila."
16 Ibid., 670.
17 Marshall, *Taxila*, 98.
18 See Coningham and Edwards, "Space and Society at Sirkap," 57.
19 Marshall, *Taxila*, 109, seal no. 9.
20 These symbols actually indicate a Gandhāran origin for several of the so-called Graeco-Persian seals; see Callieri, "Easternmost Graeco-Persian Seals," 210-11.
21 Marshall, *Taxila*, 111.
22 Ibid., 145, 174.
23 Coningham and Edwards, "Space and Society at Sirkap," 57.
24 Ibid., 63; see also Dar, *Taxila and the Western World*, 67-68.
25 Marshall, *Taxila*, 150-55.
26 Coningham and Edwards, "Space and Society at Sirkap," 50.
27 Härtel, *Excavations at Sonkh*.
28 Bernard, "L'Aornos bactrien et l'Aornos indien," 510, n. 87.
29 Marshall dated Strata III and II to the late-Śaka and Parthian periods, i.e., to late first century BCE through early first century CE, and Stratum I to the early Kuṣāṇa period of the mid-first century CE. However, according to Erdosy's new interpretation, Stratum III belongs to the early first century CE, Stratum II to the mid- and late first century and beginning of the second century CE, and Stratum I to the mid-second century CE. Thus Sirkap would have been abandoned only during the reign of Vāsudeva at the end of the second century CE. See Erdosy, "Taxila," 670.
30 Marshall, *Taxila*, 158.
31 Faccenna, *Butkara I*, vol. 2, 241-55.
32 Marshall, *Taxila*, 148.
33 Ibid., 192.
34 Ibid., 693.
35 See Dar, *Taxila and the Western World*, 69-79.
36 Rapin, "Hinduism in the Indo-Greek Area."
37 Wheeler, *Chārsada*, 124.
38 Ibid., 22.
39 Dani, "Shaikhān Ḍherī Excavation," 26, 39. On the question of the dating, see Taddei, Chapter 2 in this volume.
40 Dani, "Shaikhān Ḍherī Excavation," 28-29.
41 Ibid., 40.
42 Ibid., 28.
43 Taddei, Chapter 2 in this volume.
44 Dani, "Shaikhān Ḍherī Excavation," 109.
45 Härtel, *Excavations at Sonkh*.
46 Paul and Paul, "Brahmanical Imagery."
47 Callieri, *Seals and Sealings*, 256, 269.
48 Paul and Paul, "Brahmanical Imagery," 115-16 and n. 7; Srinivasan, "Skanda/Kārttikeya."
49 Hesychius, *Hesychii Alexandrini lexicon*, 362, s.v. Gandaros.
50 Fussman, "Upāya-kauśalya," 19.
51 Callieri, "North-West of the Indian Subcontinent in the Indo-Greek Period."
52 See R. Salomon, "Another Reliquary Inscription of the Apraca Princess Uttarā," with bibliography.
53 Reddy, "God, Trade and Worship."

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4 Relic Shrines of Gandhāra: A Reinterpretation of the Archaeological Evidence

Kurt Behrendt

In 630 CE, the Chinese pilgrim Xuanzang visited the shrine of the skull relic in Afghanistan at the site of Haḍḍa. He described it in the following manner: "There is here a two-storied tower; the beams are painted and the columns [are] coloured red. In the second story is a little stūpa, made of the seven precious substances; it contains the skull-bone of Tathāgata; it is 1 foot 2 inches round; the hair orifices are distinct; its colour is whitish-yellow. It is enclosed in a precious receptacle, which is placed in the middle of the stūpa. Those who wish to make lucky or unlucky presages (marks) make a paste of scented earth, and impress it on the skull-bone."[1]

The experience of direct contact with the skull relic of the Buddha was important for Xuanzang and other Chinese pilgrims who visited Greater Gandhāra. This practice must also have been common in the northwest of Pakistan, because many relief sculptures show devotees in the act of venerating relics, which sit on low thrones or platforms (fig. 4.1). A wide range of conventional reliquaries and recognizable relics such as the turban or the alms bowl of the Buddha are represented in narrative relief sculpture, false gables, and the bases of large iconic images.[2] Both the Chinese pilgrims and the visual evidence tell us that relics were an important part of the religious life in Gandhāra. It is therefore surprising that no edifices associated with these practices have been identified in the archaeological record. I contend that a variety of such structures, some of which have gone unnoticed and many others of which have been misidentified, are recognizable and commonly occupy positions of importance within the sacred areas of many Gandhāran sites.

Shrine Types

Several distinct types of shrines were used to display, house, and provide security for these direct-access relics. Only approximate dates are given here.[3] Identification of direct-access relic monuments is complicated because relics

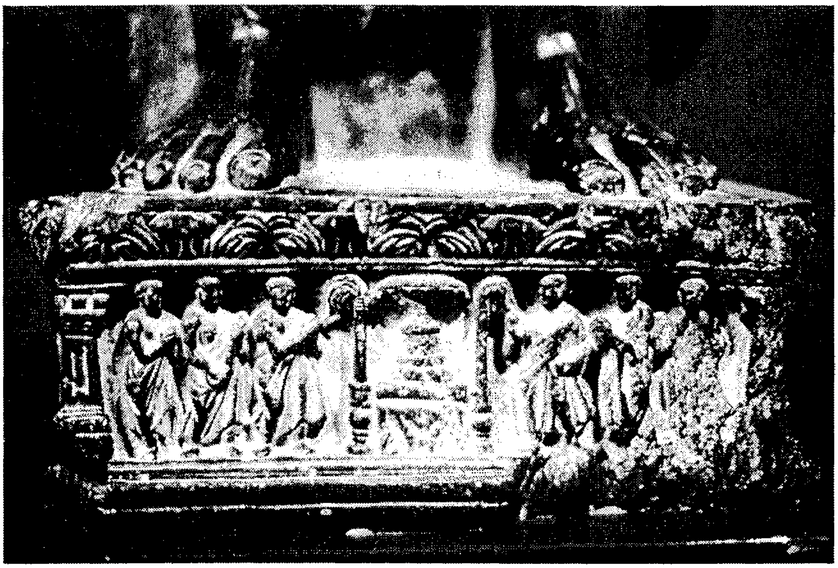


FIGURE 4.1. Base of Buddha image, depicting a reliquary on a throne flanked by devotees. Lahore Museum (author's photograph).

such as the skull or alms bowl have not been found. Faxian tells us that the skull was kept in an accessible stūpa, more than 1.5 m tall and made of the seven precious substances, which in turn was housed in a shrine.[4] Xuanzang mentions this elaborate stūpa-reliquary, along with another that housed the eyeball of the Buddha.[5] Clearly such precious stūpas would not survive in the archaeological record.[6] Thus, little more than foundations and empty chambers testify to this devotional practice, making it difficult to identify the buildings described by Xuanzang and other Chinese pilgrims.[7]

When we think of structures that house relics, apsidal stūpa shrines like those found in western India come to mind. Some of the earliest stūpa shrines in Gandhāra are comparable to the Indian *caitya* hall – a good example is the diaper-masonry I3 apsidal stūpa shrine at the Dharmarājikā complex in Taxila (fig. 4.2; shrine I3 is west of the main stūpa).[8] This structure is different from Indian prototypes in that the stūpa was placed in an enclosed rear cell that was accessed through an antechamber. In Gandhāra the apsidal shape was quickly abandoned in favor of rectangular structures that are similar to the I3 format, as is the case with the contemporary A1 and A13 stūpa shrines at Kālawān (fig. 4.3; A1 and A13 are on the eastern edge of the sacred area).[9] This new type of rectangular stūpa shrine characteristically has a front antechamber (sometimes open) that provides access to an inner room where the stūpa is housed. It is important not to confuse these public two-celled stūpa

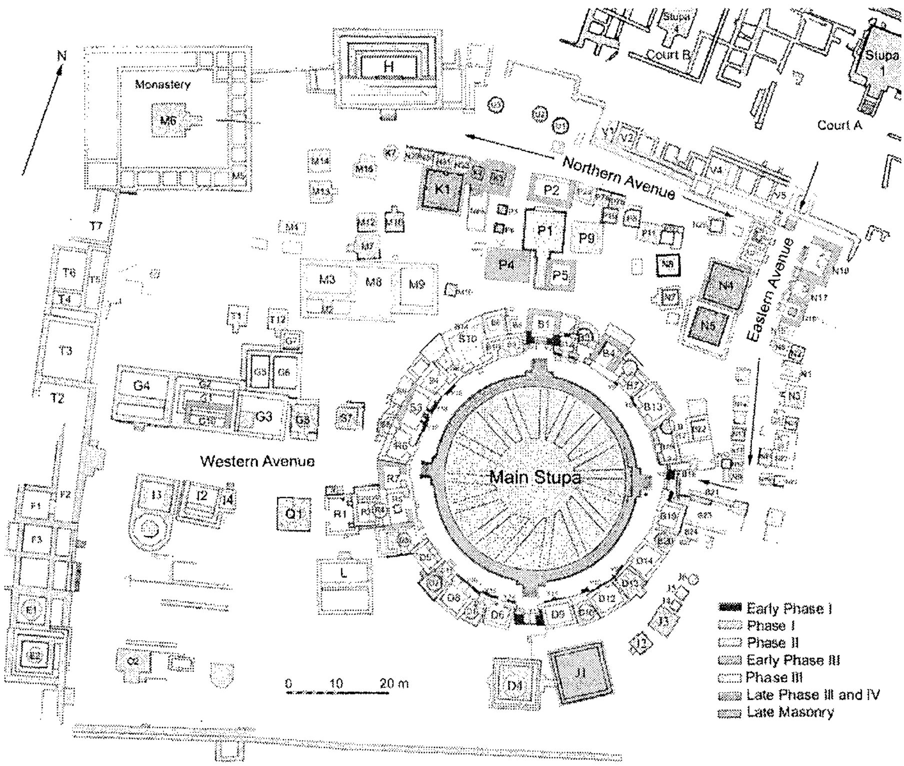


FIGURE 4.2. Plan of Dharmarājikā complex, Taxila (author's plan, modified after Marshall, *Taxila*).

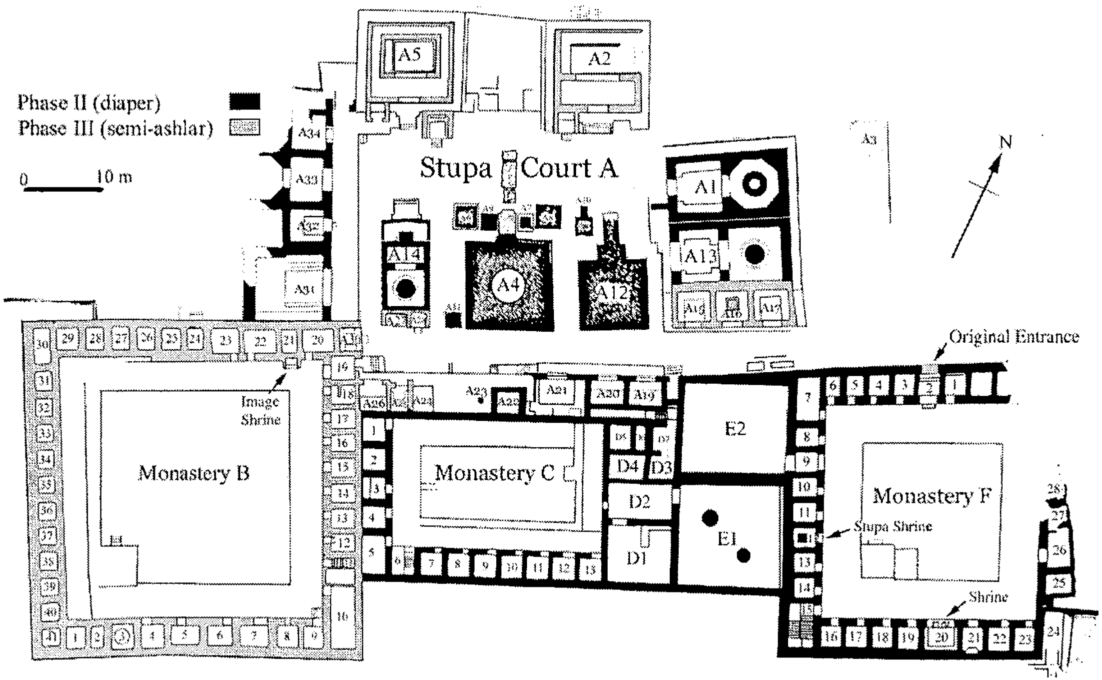


FIGURE 4.3. Plan of Kālawān, Taxila (author's plan, modified after Marshall, *Taxila*).

shrines with the stūpa shrines found within monasteries. In a few instances, stūpas were added to preexisting monastic residential cells; I believe that these private shrines served the ritual needs of the monastic community.[10] Public two-celled shrines containing small stūpas are found in Taxila at the Dharmarājikā complex (fig. 4.2; shrine G4),[11] Kālawān (fig. 4.3; shrines A1, A13, and A14),[12] Akhaurī B,[13] Bhamāla,[14] and in the Swāt valley at Butkara III[15] and Marjanai.[16]

However, many two-celled shrines in similar locations are devoid of stūpas; examples are those found in the Dharmarājikā complex (fig. 4.2; shrines H, G5-6, L, M2-3, and probably others, such as G1-2, I2, and possibly M8 and M9, originally had this configuration), Lālchak,[17] Mohṛā Morādu (not shown on site plan),[18] Kālawān (fig. 4.3; shrines A2 and A5), Takht-i-bāhī (fig. 4.4; shrines T1, T2(?), T3, and T4),[19] Jamāl Gaṛhī,[20] and Butkara I (shrine GB).[21] It has commonly been thought that images were placed in these empty two-celled shrines. There are several reasons to discount this hypothesis, the foremost being that this architectural format linked to the two-celled stūpa shrines suggests relic associations.

To begin, one must ask the obvious question: Why are so many of these shrines empty? One possible explanation is that they originally contained precious stūpa-reliquaries like those described by Chinese pilgrims Faxian and Xuanzang. Faxian went into great detail concerning the security measures that were taken to protect the skull relic from theft. He said that after the relic was placed in this precious 1.5-m-tall stūpa-reliquary, the shrine door was closed and the seals of eight men of the first family of the country were placed on it. Only after these men inspected their seals was the shrine opened in the morning and the skull bone of the Buddha brought out.[22] Although it is hard to imagine that such an elaborate ceremony occurred daily, this account does give us some idea of the importance assigned to security. These direct-access relics appear to have also had great monetary value. A sixth-century text, the *Fufazangyinyuanzhuan* of the Northern Wei dynasty, tells us that Kaniṣka accepted the Buddha's alms bowl as tribute in lieu of 300 million pieces of gold.[23] Not only was the stūpa-reliquary precious, the relics also warranted careful protection.

Such concerns probably explain why the two-celled shrines in Gandhāra had doors for sealing the inner room and usually another set to close off the antechambers. Although we do not find any of these valuable relics or their stūpa-reliquaries in the archaeological record, the two-celled shrines that contained more conventional stone stūpas appear to have survived relatively intact. This is not to say that every empty two-celled shrine housed direct-access relics, but rather to suggest that some of the large, prominent two-celled shrines may have housed relics of this kind.

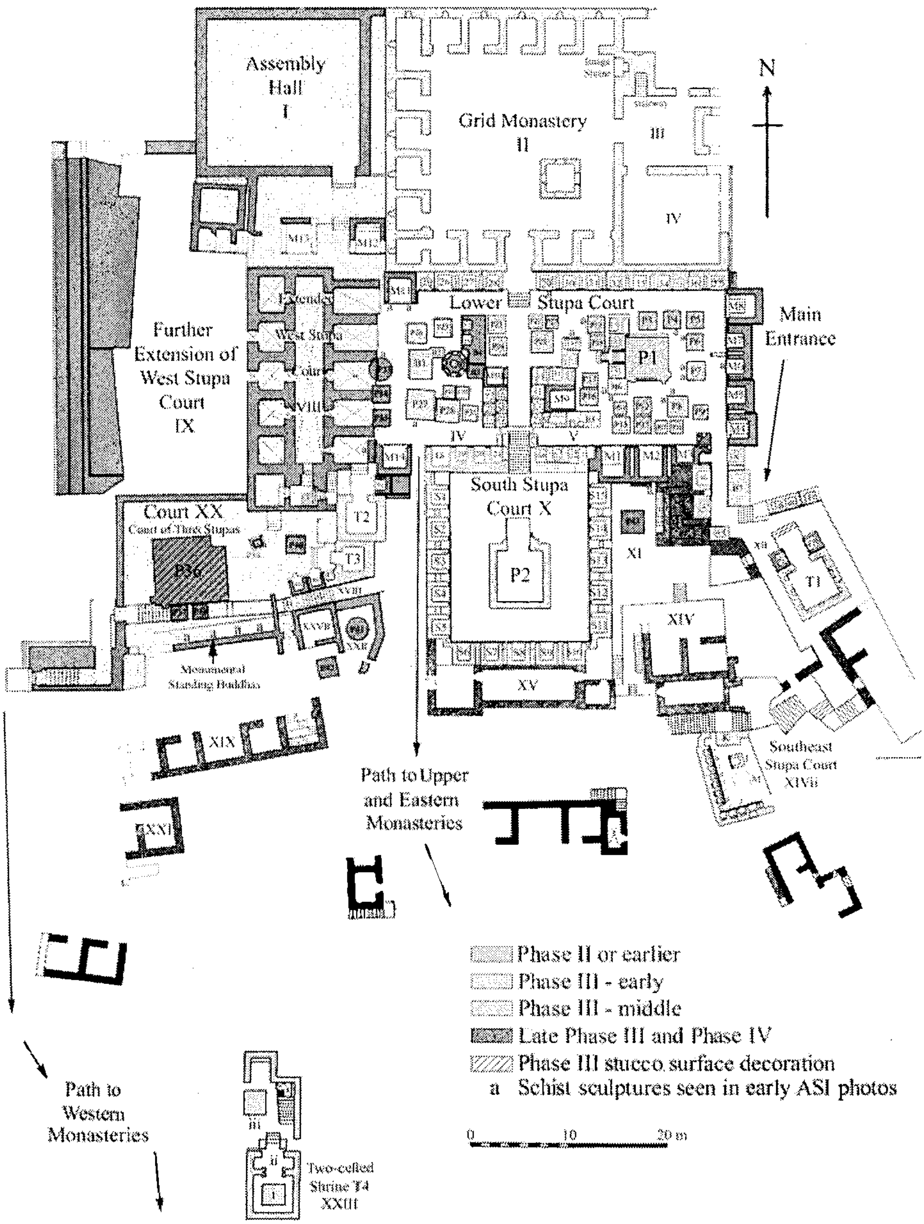


FIGURE 4.4. Plan of Takht-i-bāhī sacred area, Peshawar basin (author's plan, modified after Hargreaves and Errington).

The most significantly placed of these structures are the massive two-celled H structure at the northern entrance of the Dharmarājikā complex (fig. 4.2)[24] and the two-celled Great Building on the early northern axis of Butkara I.[25] Both are devoid of interior stūpas, and it is exactly these types of building that could have been used for relic display. In fact, the one structural variation that does appear among the larger empty two-celled shrines, an internal *pradakṣiṇapatha,* supports the identification of these as relic monuments. This feature is found in the H structure,[26] in the Great Building at Butkara I,[27] and in the A2 and A5 two-celled shrines at Kālawān (fig. 4.3). *Pradakṣiṇapathas* are commonly found around main stūpas and are an important element in the related Indian *caitya* halls.

Only in the Dharmarājikā complex have loose relics been found in two-celled shrines.[28] It was here that the famous inscribed silver scroll of the year 136 was found, together with some relics in the G5-6 two-celled shrine (fig. 4.2; just west of the main stūpa).[29] The inscription records the private donation of this structure and the enshrinement of the "Holy one's" relics.[30] Further, it identifies this edifice as a *bodhisattvagahami,* or as Marshall translated it, a bodhisattva chapel. Although the meaning of this unique reference remains unclear, the inscription leaves no doubt that this building was privately constructed to house relics of the Buddha.

Relic Shrines and the Donation of Sculpture

The two-celled shrines (with or without stūpas) were adorned and embellished with images that often appear to have been fabricated as votive offerings. In situ sculpture was found on the low plinths in the B7 and B8 shrines at Bhamāla,[31] and in the 19-49 stūpa shrine at the late site of Tapa-i-kafariha in Afghanistan.[32] Thus, it would seem that the plinths found in many of the two-celled shrines were intended to support such votive imagery.

Heterogeneous donative images are found in a variety of contexts in the sacred areas of Gandhāra, but especially in conjunction with relic structures. Typically, multiple image shrines commissioned by individuals enclose and mark the sacred area around main stūpas, as at Jauliāñ, Mohṛā Morādu, Takht-i-bāhī (fig. 4.4), and many others, a clear indication that individuals commissioned images as acts of veneration.[33] The heterogeneous stucco images found on the bases of the Jauliāñ and Mohṛā Morādu main stūpas mirror the image shrines and, again, are an example of votive offerings in association with relic monuments. These images might explain the presence of the stucco images in the Bhamāla and Tapa-i-kafariha two-celled stūpa shrines.[34]

In the A1 two-celled shrine at Kālawān (fig. 4.3), sixteen schist and two stucco sculptural fragments of varying ages were found in the rear *cella* surrounding the stūpa.[35] This kind of donation indicates that the stūpa shrine

was being actively used, but the reuse of schist imagery obscures the dates of these votive offerings. These accumulations of reused sculptures testify that these edifices had devotional significance when the imagery was deposited. In this case and many others, the presence of such sculpture indicates that these relic shrines remained in use for long periods.

In late instances of reuse, we often find sculptures placed in association with relic structures. For instance, at Sahrī-Bahlol C, large images of Buddhas and bodhisattvas were placed around small stūpas.[36] Thus, it seems reasonable that the L two-celled shrine at the Dharmarājikā complex (fig. 4.3; southwest of the main stūpa) may have contained significant relics; this would explain why so many reused sculptures were placed around this structure.[37]

Chinese sources describing the building used to enshrine the alms bowl state that the interior walls were embellished with life-sized golden and silver images of the Buddha, probably schist images coated with gold and silver leaf, as Kuwayama has suggested.[38]

The image niches in interior walls of the T1, T2, and T4 shrines at Takht-i-bāhī that probably contained stucco images seem to fit this description (fig. 4.4).[39] At this site, aside from the main stūpas, these empty shrines are the most significant devotional structures, marking the entrances to the sacred area.[40] A closely related structure is the late 19-49 two-celled stūpa shrine at Tapa-i-kafariha in Haḍḍa, where monumental images bracket the entrance like an antechamber, as at the T1 shrine at Takht-i-bāhī.[41] The placement of large images in the antechambers of two-celled shrines at both of these sites indicates that this shrine type remained significant to the religious tradition even in the later periods, when monumental imagery became popular.

Single-celled Relic Shrines

The Takht-i-bāhī T1, T2, and T4 shrines differ from the standard two-celled format discussed above because they originally were single-celled structures; it was only with the addition of image shrines bracketing their entrances that they took on the form akin to the two-celled shrine.[42] In the lower sacred area at Thareli four such single-celled shrines survive, one of which (D6) contained a small stūpa (fig. 4.5). Miscellaneous schist and stucco images associated with these shrines suggest that they were used in ways analogous to other relic shrines discussed above.[43] Single-celled relic shrines are different and should not be confused with image shrines. They have fairly large floor areas, comparable to the largest monumental image shrines, but they appear to have had low roofs; in Thareli shrines D5 and D6, the trabeated domed ceiling and roof structure survive. Also, the front entrance walls pinch in, providing a distinctive C-shaped plan that allows for this category of shrine to be recognized even when only the lower parts of the walls survive (fig. 4.5;

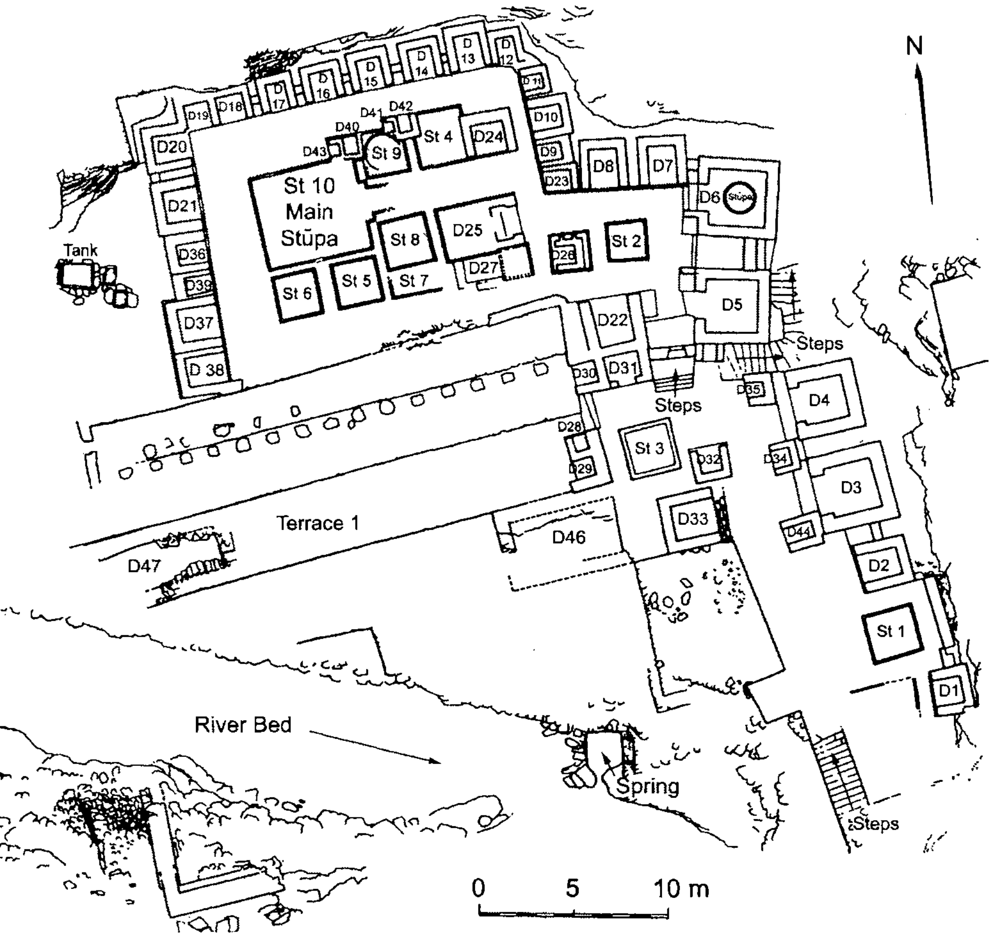


FIGURE 4.5. Plan of Thareli, Sacred Area D, Peshawar basin (author's plan, modified after Mizuno and Higuchi).

the D6 shrine is a clear type example). In contrast, image shrines consistently have a U-shaped plan, to provide for clear viewing (fig. 4.3; note the many open-faced image shrines ringing the sacred area). Finally, these single-celled shrines seems to have sometimes contained internal niches for housing sculpture, a feature that is never present in the U-shaped image shrines. Similar single-celled shrines occur at the Dharmarājikā (fig. 4.2; shrines D5, D8, D6, D9?, D12, D14, B9, and B10; slightly different and later are shrines B19, B13, B1, S3, R6, R7, and R5.),[44] Kālawān (fig. 4.3; shrines A19, A20, and A26),[45] Jauliāñ (shrines C19, B17),[46] Thareli (fig. 4.5; shrines D3, D4, D5, and D6), and Takht-i-bāhī (fig. 4.4; shrines T1, T2, T3, and T4).

While the single-celled shrines were sometimes augmented with image shrines that bracket their entrances, such as those from Takht-i-bāhī, considerable evidence indicates that the large inner chambers housed relics in their centres and small images at their perimeters. These structures follow a pattern that links them to the many two-celled relic shrines of Taxila and to the above-mentioned example from Thareli with an internal stūpa. They are completely unlike other monumental image shrines at Takht-i-bāhī or at many other sites in Gandhāra.[47] Monumental image shrines were not constructed with small interior image niches. Finally, large stucco images had to be affixed to walls for support, which would not have been possible in the Takht-i-bāhī examples because the interior walls are completely encircled by small niches for images (the monumental image could not have been freestanding).

Stūpas with Enterable Relic Chambers

Another line of evidence appears related to the practice of venerating relics. Some main stūpas have large finished relic chambers that seem to have been opened regularly. The main (A4) stūpa of Kālawān has a circular relic chamber 4.03 m in diameter (fig. 4.3). The interior walls were constructed with finished masonry; multiple layers of whitewash survive.[48] This type of relic chamber is extremely unusual; typically, relic chambers are too small to enter and, as a rule, are unfinished. That the room-sized Kālawān relic chamber was repainted several times shows that its appearance was important, and suggests that it was regularly accessed and maintained over a considerable period. The circa-fifth-century-CE main stūpa at Mohenjo-daro (fig. 4.6) almost exactly parallels the A4 stūpa from Kālawān. The Mohenjo-daro stūpa also has a finished oversized relic chamber, in this instance roughly 6 m in diameter, that was plastered and painted on the interior.[49] Several more of these "hollow" stūpas can be found in Swāt. On the outskirts of the village of Najigram is a fairly large structure with a standard stūpa base, but the drum is actually a large round room whose surviving walls are 1 m high in places, faced on the interior, and it has an extant finished floor.[50] Near the Shnaisha stūpa is the site of Dhop Darra, where the main stūpa is also hollow and has an interior coated with lime plaster.[51] The main stūpa in the Jaṇḍiāl B complex in Taxila has an early Śaka-period square base with a relic chamber 3.35 m by 4.25 m that was whitewashed on the interior.[52]

Recent excavations in China of a Buddhist site called Famen sheds further light on our understanding of how these hollow Gandhāran stūpas might have been used. At the Famen site four relics of the Buddha were kept in a chamber under the superstructure of the stūpa, accessible by a passage. Chinese court documents state that the relics were removed only for special

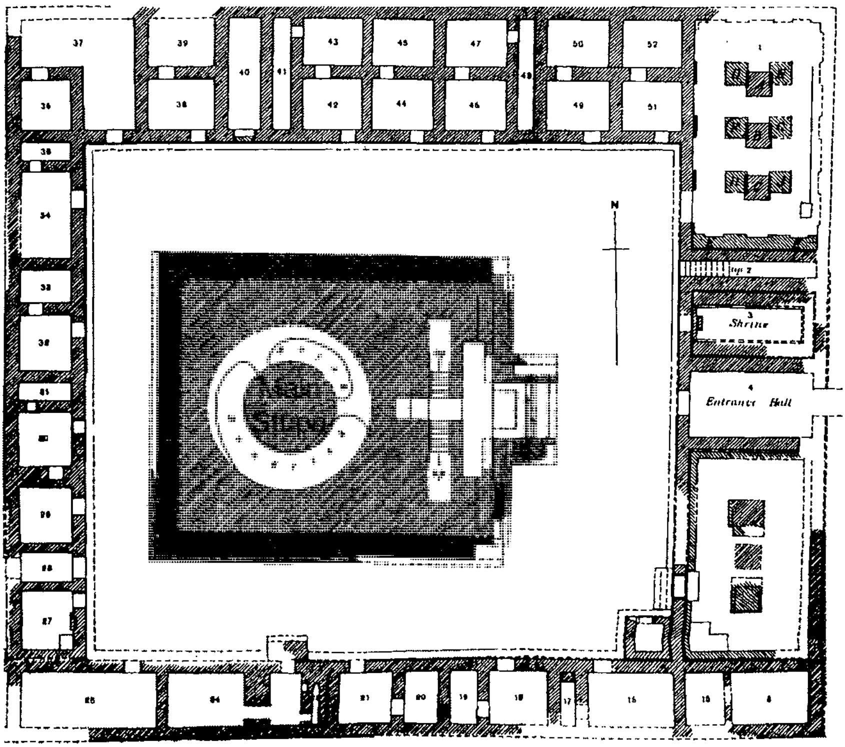


FIGURE 4.6. Plan and section of the Mohenjo-daro main stūpa, Sind (author's plan, modified after Marshall, *Mohenjo-Daro*).

occasions, not on a regular basis, as was the skull-bone relic at Haḍḍa.[53] It is also recorded that this site received imperial patronage, and on at least eight occasions, between 625 and 874 CE, the relics were taken from Famen in procession for 145 km to be displayed in the capital of China (usually for a period of three days).[54]

No passageways survive to indicate how the Gandhāran hollow stūpas were entered, but it seems likely that access was from above; the careful finishing and maintenance of the interiors seems to suggest that they were entered periodically. Together with the two-celled shrines, the hollow stūpas appear to have provided secure locations for storing relics that could be viewed regularly, as at Haḍḍa, or occasionally, as at Famen. Both types of monuments would have provided the worshipper a means of venerating the relic even if it was not on display, the hollow stūpas being treated as any ordinary *stūpa* and the two-celled shrines being analogous to the Indian *caitya* hall.

Relic Display

To understand how the two-celled shrines and hollow stūpas may have been used, we should consider how the relics were displayed. The Chinese pilgrims discussed in detail the custom of placing accessible relics on thrones for veneration. Describing the presentation of the skull-bone relic at Haḍḍa, Faxian wrote: "They place it [the skull-bone] outside the *vihāra* [relic shrine] on a high throne; taking a circular stand of the seven precious substances, the stand is placed below [the relic], and a glass bell as a cover over it. All these are adorned with pearls and gems."[55] Narrative reliefs depicting cloth-covered bell-shaped reliquaries on thrones provide supporting evidence for Faxian's description of this relic from Haḍḍa. Numerous reliquaries are also represented on thrones in Gandhāran sculpture, leaving no doubt as to what is being represented (see fig. 4.1).

It is possible to identify tentatively some of these structures used to display relics in the sacred areas. The Jaṇḍiāl B complex includes an early Śaka-Parthian-period court with rooms surrounding the stūpa with its oversized, presumably enterable relic chamber. An interesting element of this court is a large shrine (T) with a raised platform that Marshall suggested might have been used to display an image (presumably large – this platform is about 3m square).[56] No other image shrines from Taxila, especially one so large, can be dated to the Śaka-Parthian period; thus, it is likely that this platform did not support an image. Could it instead have been used to display relics? The relics kept in the oversized relic chamber could have been taken out and displayed on this platform. Many sculptural depictions show relics being placed and worshipped on thrones. Other pedestals found in association with relic structures probably can be interpreted as being used in this way. At Jauliāñ, adjacent to the entrance of the B17 single-cell shrine, is an elaborate throne with lion legs and a cloth with geometric floral decoration rendered in plaster (fig. 4.7). According to Marshall, this throne could not have supported an image, as no trace of one was left on the elaborately decorated plasterwork. This throne can be compared directly to those shown in the relief sculpture supporting relics and reliquaries. This sculptural evidence strengthens the hypothesis that the single-celled shrine B17 might have housed relics.

Another example of thrones possibly being used to display relics is in the Dharmarājikā sacred area. An unusual structure stands to the right of the western gateway into the *pradakṣiṇapatha* of the main stūpa (fig. 4.2; R complex). The R1–R5 complex, an irregular conglomeration of structures built over time, has all the elements of a direct-access relic shrine: a chamber that could have housed relics (R3) and a shrine with two thrones were they could be displayed (R1).[57] It appears likely that the R3 chamber was used to store relics, because its diaper masonry walls rest on and trace the edges of a square

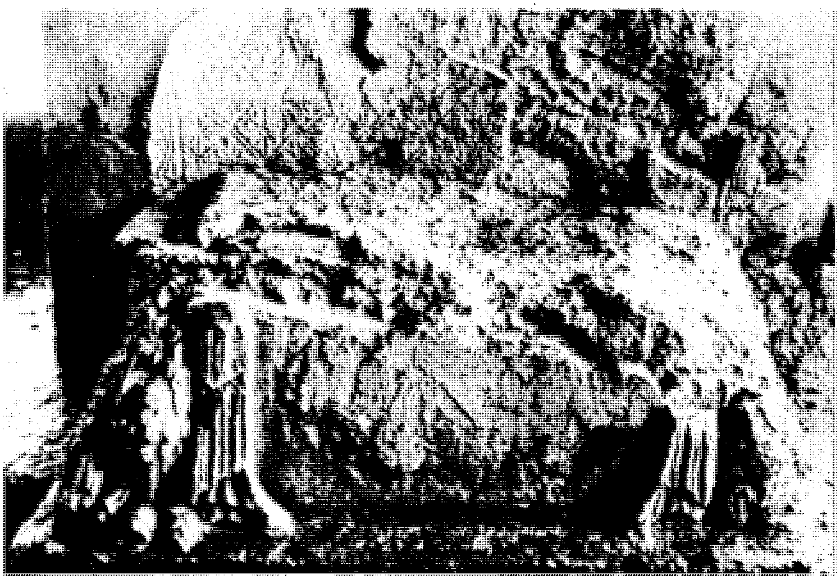


FIGURE 4.7. Throne in front of Jauliāñ single-cell shrine B17 (after Marshall, *Taxila*, pl. 107d).

kañjūr ashlar stūpa-like base that in turn bisects an even earlier Śaka-period stūpa (R4).[58] Crucial to analysis of this shrine, however, is the R1 display area. Two small diaper-masonry throne-like platforms were attached to the front of the early kañjūr ashlar base, the same base that supports the R3 chamber. These platforms can be compared to the many reliefs that show relics being displayed on thrones or pedestals, as mentioned above. Moreover, the platforms and the face of this stūpa base were decorated with early narrative stucco reliefs. Marshall tells us that on the south face of the south plinth is a depiction of the Great Departure and on the north face of the north plinth is the horse Kaṇṭhaka taking leave of Siddhārtha.[59] Nine schist, stucco, and terracotta images of Buddhas and other figures found in this R1 display area indicate that this shrine remained in use until late in the life of the Dharmarājikā complex, and that it was a desirable place to donate images. The long life span of this structure is further attested to by the late semi-ashlar addition of the R5 stūpa shrine and repairs that postdate the closure of the western gateway of the main stūpa by the semi-ashlar R6 and R7 shrines. Thus, the R complex appears to be a clear example of a shrine used to display relics throughout the history of the site even after the *pradakṣiṇapatha* of the main stūpa had come to be dominated by monumental image shrines.

The site of Nimogram, in Swāt, has yet another variation of shrines that appear to have been used to house and display relics (fig. 4.8). Here the sacred

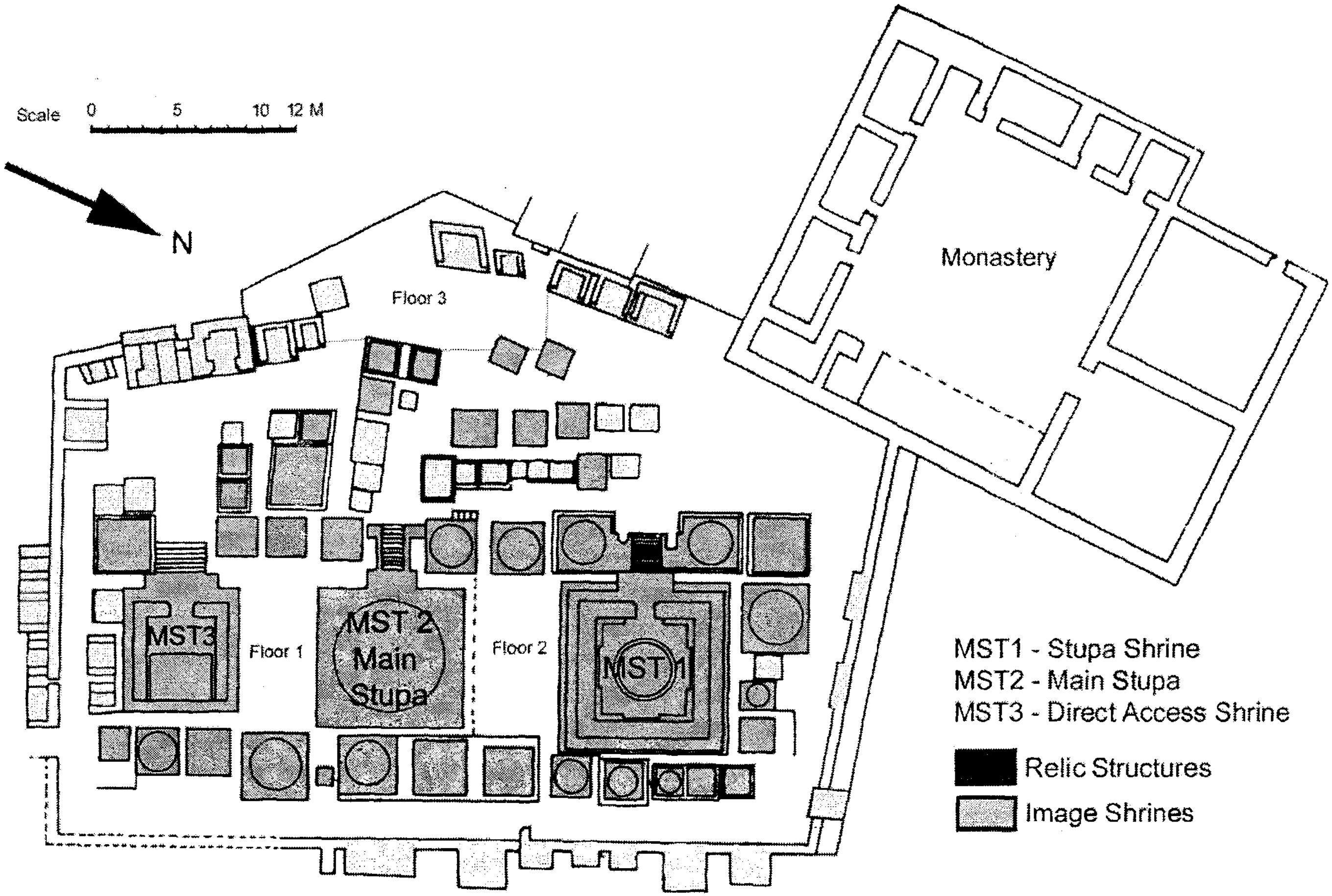


FIGURE 4.8. Plan of Nimogram sacred area, Swāt (author's plan, modified after A.M. Khan).

area is organized around three structures (MST1–3), each of which sits on a stūpa-like base. To the left of the main stūpa (MST2) is a prominent single-celled stūpa shrine, and to the right is a stūpa-like base supporting a cell that consists of a room with a large platform against the back wall. Could the relic stored in the MST1 stūpa shrine have been displayed on the plinth in the MST3 shrine? It seems unlikely that the MST3 plinth supported an image, because there are no other occurrences in Gandhāra of images enshrined in stūpa-like structures.[60] Thus, it is significant that at both the Dharmarājikā complex and at Nimogram unusual relic shrines were placed on stūpa-like bases.

At the nearby Swāt site of Tokar dara is another high-base shrine structure that probably housed a relic of some kind (fig. 4.9). A high rectangular base supported a chamber, the surviving walls of which are now less than 0.5 m high.[61] This shrine base has been misidentified as a stūpa. Like the nearby hollow stūpa in Najigram, this structure may have been used to house or display relics. The unusually high Tokar dara shrine base is rectangular, not square like other main stūpas of Swāt, and it lacks projections linking the stairway to the head of the plinth.[62] This idiosyncratic plinth thus reminds the viewer of local stūpa bases, yet is distinct from them, and it is quite unlike the various monumental image shrines of this area. It stood in its own court, enclosed by a perimeter wall that defined an independent sacred space and perhaps limited access to the monument. An interesting comparison can be made of this structure, the Nimogram MST2 shrine, and a schist relief that shows a shrine sitting on a high base (fig. 4.10).

Conclusion

Shrines housing relics to be displayed, or more conventional stūpas, seem to have had a more significant role in the organization of sacred areas in Gandhāra than has previously been thought. At the time when diaper-masonry structures were being fabricated in the Dharmarājikā complex, four two-celled shrines, an apsidal temple housing a stūpa, and the R complex were all built along a wide passageway leading to the western gate to the main stūpa (see fig. 4.2). A worshiper approaching the great stūpa would have first encountered this set of probable relic shrines that created a bounded avenue leading up to the focus of the sacred area – the main stūpa. The assemblage of structures culminates with the R complex at the entrance into the *pradakṣiṇapatha,* a group of structures that most likely housed direct-access relics. This early use of multiple relic shrines to create an organized devotional space for worshippers is not unique. The sacred area of Kālawān (see fig. 4.3), a little more than 1 km south of the Dharmarājikā complex, is also bounded by probable relic structures. At Kālawān a group of large stūpas and two-celled shrines

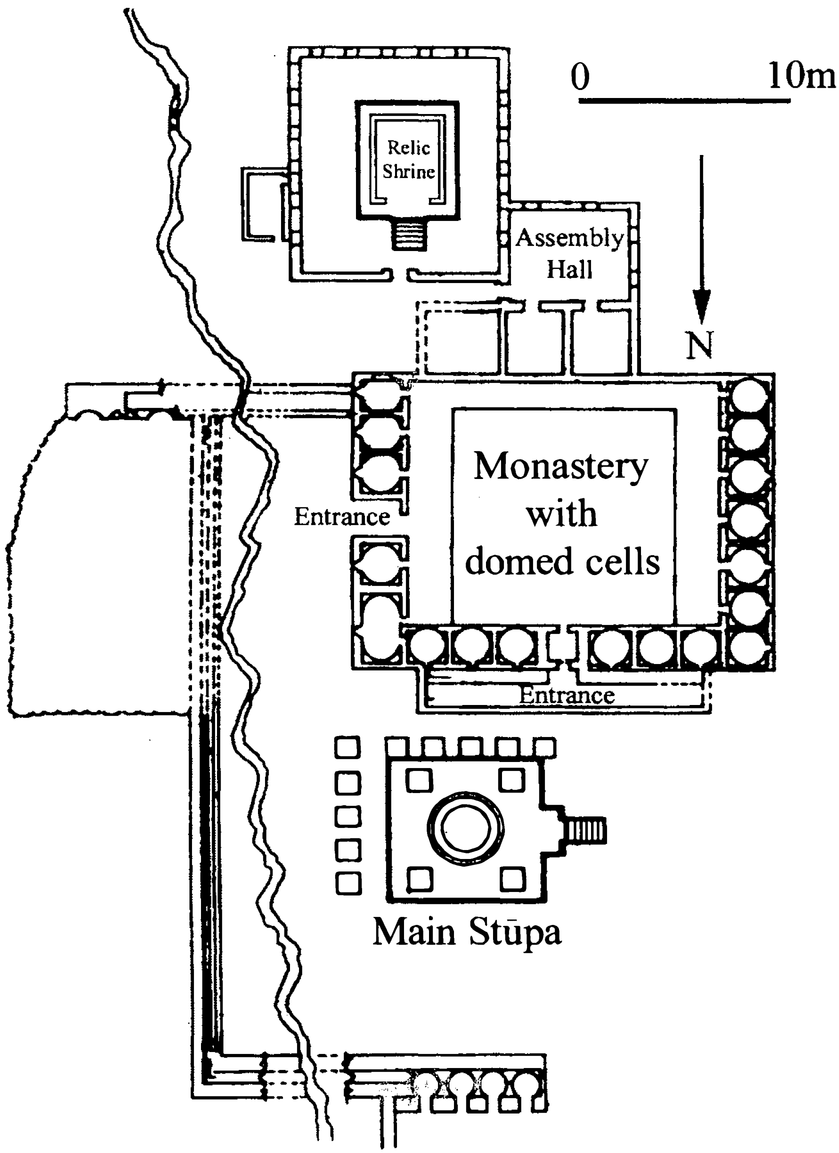


FIGURE 4.9. Plan of Tokar dara complex, Swāt (author's plan, modified after A.M. Khan).

with and without stūpas enclose the enterable main stūpa. Althouh Kālawān was used from about the first or second century CE until at least the fifth century, the group of relic structures in and around the sacred area were constructed in diaper masonry, contemporary with that used in the Dhar-

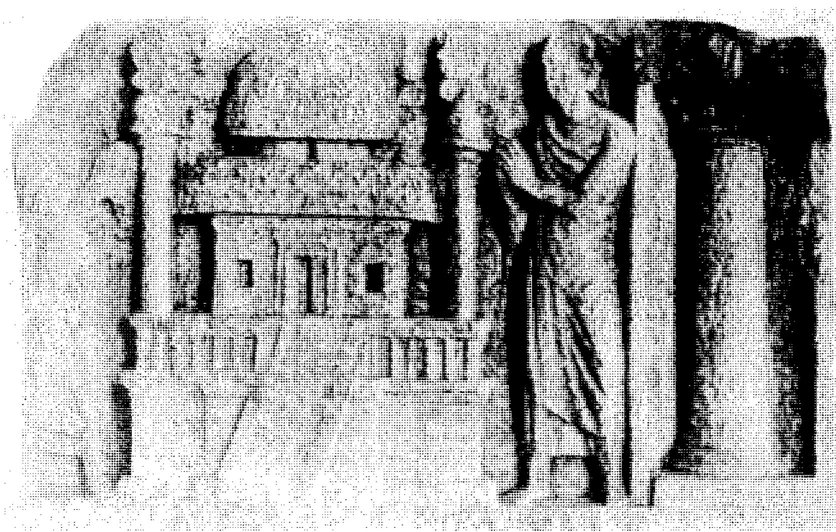


FIGURE 4.10. Relief showing a shrine on a high platform flanked by pillars (after Foucher, fig. 41).

marājikā western avenue.[63] These two examples provide a sense of how relic monuments appear to have been employed to define sacred space and to augment the main stūpas. A similar argument could be made for Butkara I, where the two-celled Great Building sits opposite the main stūpa, connected in the early history of the site by a corridor lined with small stūpas. Somewhat later examples, such as Takht-i-bāhī, indicate that two-celled shrines were used to define points of access into a sacred area that now is lined by image shrines.

Although we may never be able to identify the specific shrines that housed the Buddha's alms bowl or skull-bone relic, the previously unrecognized element of Gandhāran architecture described here testifies to the significance of relic worship in this region.

NOTES

1 Beal, *Si-Yu-Ki*, 95–96.

2 It is noteworthy that such relics are not depicted in the stucco and terracotta sculpture, with the exception of a single image from Mohṛā Morādu, where the alms bowl is depicted below the base of a Buddha figure in stucco (photograph in the Alkazi Collection of Photography).

3 For a detailed argument on the sequence of these structures, see Behrendt, *Buddhist Architecture of Gandhāra*, 61–77, 255–67.

4 Beal, *Si-Yu-Ki*, xxiv. Faxian called this a final-emancipation tower (a tower shaped like a dāgaba).

5 Ibid., 96.
6 The Buddhist sites in Greater Gandhāra appear to have gradually fallen out of use; precious objects would have been removed or looted in antiquity.
7 Kuwayama, "Buddha's Bowl in Gandhāra," 953.
8 Marshall, *Taxila,* 254–55, pl. 45.
9 Ibid., 328–29, pl. 72.
10 There are many examples where stūpas were placed within monasteries, such as the Dharmarājikā EFT structure, the M6 quadrangular monastery, the court A monastery, the court B monastery, and the G monasteries; Akhauri B; Khāder Mohṛā D2; the Kālawān court F monastery; the Mohṛā Morādu monastery, and the Pippala monastery. This practice continued for an extremely long time, as shown by stūpas in later monastic shrines such as those at Bāgh in western India.
11 Kañjūr fragments of a stūpa were found in the diaper G4 shrine. See Marshall, *Taxila,* 255, pl. 45.
12 Ibid., 325, pl. 72.
13 This early monastery has two two-celled stūpa shrines in the monastic enclosure, but this is the only instance of which I am aware. See ibid., pl. 67b.
14 Bhamāla stūpa shrine B8. See ibid., 393, pl. 114. The Bhamāla two-celled shrines are slightly different: the antechamber is open on the sides and thus is more like a porch than a preceding room.
15 Five two-celled stūpa shrines were excavated along the edges of the sacred area, forming cavelike chambers, as indicated in Rahman, "Butkara III."
16 Stūpa 3 and associated shrine. See Khan, "Preliminary report of excavations at Marjanai."
17 Marshall assumed this was an image shrine, but no images were found. See Marshall, *Taxila,* 389.
18 This shrine is not included in Marshall's plan of the site, but it is known through direct field observation.
19 For a full discussion of Takht-i-bāhī, see Behrendt, *Buddhist Architecture of Gandhāra,* 181–90, 215–20.
20 This shrine is immediately behind the main stūpa.
21 Faccenna, *Butkara I,* vol. 3, no. 3, pl. XVIII.
22 Beal, *Si-Yu-Ki,* xxiv.
23 Kuwayama, "Buddha's Bowl in Gandhāra," 961. Kuwayama cites the *Fufazangyinyuanzhuan* (Taishō 50: 315b).
24 The earliest part of this structure, the inner room constructed in rubble masonry, was encased and the structure was expanded in diaper and semi-ashlar masonry, indicating that this edifice remained important enough to be renovated throughout the life span of the Dharmarājikā complex. The semi-ashlar platform placed in the antechamber across the front of this shrine is a very late addition that appears to have sealed the rear shrine. There is no real basis for Marshall's claim that the semi-ashlar plinth supported a monumental *parinirvāṇa* image; see Marshall, *Taxila,* 247–48. The L, G5–6, and M2–3 structures all follow the classic two-celled format, as indicated in ibid., 251–59, pl. 45.
25 Coins of Azes were found in the Great Building (GB) and in the associated buildings FA and GAII; see Faccenna, *Butkara I,* vol. 3, no. 1, 168.
26 Marshall, *Taxila,* pl. 45.
27 Faccenna, *Butkara I,* vol. 3, no. 3, pl. XVIII.
28 Relics were found in the G5–6 shrine (see note 29) and in association with the S10 shrine. This latter structure could have been used either as a stūpa shrine or as a direct-access relic shrine – two relic caskets were found near the base of the west wall underneath a block of kañjūr. Further, the basic layout of this fragmentary shrine generally follows the two-

celled format, though later reconstruction makes this conclusion tentative; Marshall, *Taxila,* 267.

29 Relics were found in a casket in the G5-6 two-celled shrine near the back wall of the *cella* (apparently purposely buried). This casket, found about 30 cm below the floor, contained bone fragments along with the inscribed silver scroll, as indicated by Marshall, ibid., 256–71.

30 Ibid., 256.

31 Ibid., 393.

32 The 19-49 stūpa shrine in Barthoux, *Les Fouilles de Hadda,* vol. 1, 125–26, 141–42. Particularly well-preserved plinths survive at Butkara III, and similar plinths ring the stūpa in the MST stūpa shrine at Nimogram, although in this last instance the shrine as a whole does not follow the two-celled format.

33 The heterogeneous assemblages of small stūpas and image shrines found at most Gandhāran sites are indicative of the activities of multiple independent patrons. In western India, at sites such as Kaṇheri, one can clearly determine, on the basis of accumulated donated imagery, which stūpa shrines were venerated.

34 I have discussed this issue at length in Behrendt, "Relics and their Representation."

35 Marshall, *Taxila,* 328.

36 Under the deposited miscellaneous sculptures, Stein found a small stūpa (no. III) with a 2-m-square base, decorated with figures executed in stucco. He also noted a late pavement that he believed indicated that this stūpa was in use when the rest of the site had fallen into ruin. See Stein, "Excavations at Sahrī-Bahlol."

37 Marshall, *Taxila,* 250–52.

38 Kuwayama, "Buddha's Bowl in Gandhāra," 950.

39 In the T2 and T4 shrines, these image niches start about 2 m above the floor and run in three tiers around the entire rear chamber. The Hargreaves shrine numbers correspond to my numbered plan as follows: T1 is Xii, T2 is XVi, and T4 is the unpublished Xviii. See *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India,* unpublished photo 1330; Hargreaves, "Excavations at Takht-i-bāhī," pl. XVII.

40 T1 at the main entrance, T2 and T3 at the point where the paths to the upper and eastern monasteries feed into the sacred area, and T4 along the path to the monasteries on a ridge to the west of the sacred area.

41 The 70-cm-long foot of one of these stucco bracketing images at Tapa-i-kafariha suggests that it was once about 4 m high. The associated 65-cm (chin to top of *uṣṇīṣa*) head (Barthoux, *Les Fouilles de Hadda,* vol. 1, 125–26, 141–42) is comparable to the largest of those found in Taxila or the Peshawar basin. The practice of bracketing the entrance to a relic shrine with images is not unique; one of the most dramatic examples is the monumental circa-sixth-century Buddhas that stand at the entrance to the main *caitya* hall at Kaṇheri in western India.

42 Also, they have built-in internal image niches and much larger door passages into the rear chambers. Typically, in two-celled shrines the door sill is recessed in the masonry, but this is not the case in the Takht-i-bāhī two-celled shrines. Such recessed door sills are also found in most of the image shrines at Takht-i-bāhī (and at other sites), indicating that these shrines had shutters. They would have protected the imagery from the weather and may have also been used to restrict access. Shrine T4 may have contained a stūpa, as Hargreaves's plan seems to indicate.

43 The single-celled Thareli shrines include D3, D4, D5, and D6, which contained the base of a stūpa. About D4, the excavator noted, "Inside this room were found stone figures of the Buddha, of Vishnu riding on a garuda … and stucco figures of the Buddha, among other things." D5 is said to contain niches for votive offerings, and D6 has two niches on

the inside back wall. In front of this shrine and "between building D5 and D6, numerous stone sculptures, stuccos and other objects were found." Mizuno and Higuchi, *Thareli,* 153-54.

44 In the B19, B13, B1, S3, R6, R7, and R5 group, R5 contains a stūpa, and many sealings with the "Buddhist creed" were found in S3; see Marshall, *Taxila,* 266. Much miscellaneous sculpture was recovered in and around these shrines; ibid., 249, 266.

45 Miscellaneous sculpture was also found in these shrines; see Marshall, ibid., 332.

46 Two small stucco sculptures were found in C19, and a pedestal was found in front of B17; ibid., 377, 379. I suggest that the pedestal was used for the display of relics.

47 Image shrines have a very standard format. They are U-shaped and commonly have recessed niches for shutters, but none have projecting doorjambs. They stand on low, usually rectangular bases having moulding only on the front face. Thus, they are distinct from small stūpas, which have moulding on all four faces and which are square in plan. Image shrines never have antechambers. In monumental image shrines, the walls had to be sufficiently thick to support the superstructure; commonly post holes for supporting stucco and clay images survive in the masonry along the back wall of the shrine.

48 Marshall was quite certain that this chamber could not have been filled in; see Marshall, *Taxila,* 323-24, pl. 72.

49 Ibid., 115. Marshall's report questions the work of his assistants Banerji and Wartekar, but in his later publication on the Kālawān remains he reconsidered his skepticism about the finishing of the Mohenjo-daro relic chamber; ibid., 324. Marshall's analysis of Mohenjo-daro was questioned by Verardi, "Preliminary Report on the *Stūpa* and the Monastery of Mohenjo-Daro."

50 Personal field observations, 1993-94. The exterior walls of a stūpa would be faced so as to create a smooth surface on which to apply stucco and other decorative elements, but there would be no reason to finish any part of the interior of a normal stūpa, because it would usually have been a solid masonry structure.

51 I was not able to visit this plundered site. The hollow drum of the stūpa was used as a furnace. Rahman, "Shnaisha Gumbat," 8.

52 Marshall, *Taxila,* 354, 356. Only the base of the Śaka-period stūpa survives, but the relic chamber can be related to this stage of construction. Sometime between the first and third centuries CE, a round drum of semi-ashlar masonry was built on top of this early base, retaining the oversized relic chamber, an indication that this monument continued to be important enough to be repaired even after the nearby urban site of Sirkap had been abandoned.

53 Qixin, "Buddhist Treasures from Famensi," 77.

54 Whitfield, "Esoteric Buddhist Elements in the Famensi Reliquary Deposit," 248.

55 Beal, *Si-Yu-Ki,* xxxiv. Beal used the term *vihāra* to refer to a shrine, but in this chapter I use the term to refer to the monastery.

56 Marshall, *Taxila,* 356.

57 Ibid., 253-54.

58 Ibid., 253.

59 Ibid., 253. These reliefs unfortunately were never photographed and have now become very fragmented.

60 In Gandhāra there appears to have been an ancient conservatism in the use of Buddhist architectural forms. The stūpa form seems to have been reserved for the enshrinement of relics. See Behrendt, "Development of the Buddhist Monastery at Takht-i-bāhī," 93.

61 Personal field observation, 1993-94.

62 Otherwise a standard feature of all Gandhāran stūpas.

63 Marshall, *Taxila,* 257, 322-23.

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PART II: Texts

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5 Pilgrimage Route Changes and the Decline of Gandhāra

Shoshin Kuwayama

Jibin as a Buddhist Centre

The *Gaoseng zhuan* (Biographies of Eminent Monks), completed by Huijiao in 530, was based on other contemporary biographies of monks such as those of the *Chu Sanzang ji ji* (Collection of Records of the Tripitaka, edited by Sengyou in 515) and probably the *Mingseng zhuan* (Biographies of Distinguished Monks, edited by Baochang in 519, only partially extant). The first three chapters of the *Gaoseng zhuan* record both Chinese and foreign monks who devoted themselves to transplanting Buddhism into China in the first five centuries CE. According to them, Chinese monks did not go to India or Central Asia during the first three centuries CE; exchange between the regions consisted only of foreign monks coming to China and making Chinese versions of the scriptures. The names of such foreigners were rendered in Chinese with three, or more rarely, two characters. The first character of their names is believed to indicate their origin. For example, "An" is the abridged form of An-xi, or Aršak-Parthians. "Kang," the first character of Kang-ju, refers to the Turkish nomads in the lower valley of the Syr Darya, while "Zhi" means Rou (Yue)-zhi, the Iranian nomads in Tokharistan, all being Central Asians. Eighteen of the monks quoted in the *Gaoseng zhuan* are Central Asian, and fewer than half have in their surnames the character "Zhu" of Tianzhu, which means India. Scholars have therefore taken for granted that Central Asians studied Buddhism in their homeland and played a greater role than Indians in the early introduction of Buddhism to China.

However, the presence of a Chinese character hinting at the Central Asian provenance of the monks does not necessarily mean that they learned Buddhism in the regions located to the west of the Pamir. In fact, Buddhism was hardly established in Tokharistan and in the Syr Darya Valley during these early times. There is no evidence of Buddhist centres of philosophical learning in western Central Asia even in later centuries. Thus Central Asian Buddhists

probably studied somewhere in India. In fact, Kang Senghui is mentioned in the *Chu Sanzang ji ji* as an Indian *śramaṇa,* despite his surname.

In the fourth and fifth centuries, foreign monks with surnames indicating Central Asian origins suddenly decreased in number. On the other hand, we can observe a great increase of Chinese pilgrims and Indian monks: during these two centuries, twenty-seven Indians arrived in China as translators of scriptures, and ninety-six Chinese returned from pilgrimage in India. More direct communication became possible between China and India during this time. Everybody knew where foreign monks reaching China had been trained, or where the centre of Buddhist learning was. Consequently the Chinese realized that Central Asian monks of previous centuries might also have learned Buddhism in India. This may be a reason for the sudden decrease in the number of monks with Central Asian surnames.

The place in India known as the centre of Buddhism was called *Jibin* in Chinese. In the *Gaoseng zhuan,* Jibin surpasses any other region of India as the goal of Buddhist pilgrimage, and most of the foreign monk-translators in fourth-to-fifth-century China were closely associated with Jibin, whether or not they were natives of that area. Jibin as a flourishing Buddhist educational centre was also well known in Kucha, as the case of Kumārajīva suggests (see item 2 below). Kāshgar, Kucha, and Liangzhou were on the way to China for those travelling from Jibin, whereas those making the trip from China to Jibin often took the route through Liangzhou, Kroraïna (Loulan), Argi (Yanqi), Kucha, Khotan, and Yarkand.[1] Jibin was important for Chinese and Indian monks in the fourth and fifth centuries. The following is a brief list of such monks, from the first three chapters of the *Gaoseng zhuan.*[2]

1 During his two visits to Jibin, the monk Fotucheng[3] was taught by famous Buddhist masters and known throughout the Western Region as "the enlightened one," before reaching Luoyang in the fourth year of the Yunchia Era (CE 310).[4] Regrettably, there is no document to suggest his origin, but his name is in some cases recorded as Zhu Fotucheng, with the addition of the character "Zhu" indicating India. In any case, Jibin was the place where he studied Buddhism. So Jibin was a well-known centre for Buddhism even before 310 CE.
2 Kumārajīva, mentioned above, is a paramount figure in the history of the translation of Buddhist scriptures into Chinese. He was born in Kucha as a son of an Indian immigrant who married a sister of the king.[5] The biographies say that at the age of nine he was taken by his mother to Jibin, across the Indus River. There he became famous in the Buddhist community as an eminent disciple of Bandhudatta, a younger cousin of the Jibin king, and was shown respect appropriate to the most honorable priest. At

the age of twelve he came back to Kucha via modern Kāshgar and Aq Su. Tsukamoto convincingly gives his date of birth as 350.[6] Thus Kumārajīva was in Jibin between the years 358 and 361. It is significant to see that Jibin, not Kucha, was the chosen place for higher education in Buddhism, as it probably was the most advanced centre in the Buddhist world for learning current theories. In this context, a direct relation could exist between Jibin and Kucha.

3 Buddhayaśas, from a Brahman family of Jibin, went northward to Kāshgar, where he met Kumārajīva, who was on his way back to Kucha.[7] After a ten-year stay in Kāshgar, Buddhayaśas proceeded to Kucha to see Kumārajīva. But Kumārajīva had gone to Changan via Lianzhu, where Buddhayaśas was forced to stop. Kumārajīva invited him to Changan to do a more complete translation of Buddhist texts. In fact, Buddhayaśas is known to have translated some *vinaya* texts in between 410 and 413. This chronology gives us a rough date of Buddhayaśas's stay in Jibin.

4 In 406, Bhīmarakṣa, like Buddhayaśas, went into Changan to join Kumārajīva.[8] Bhīmarakṣa was born in Jibin, long resided in Kucha, and was famous for his deep understanding and knowledge of the *vinaya,* which Kumārajīva learned from him.

5 Buddhabhadra, a native of Nagarahāra in eastern Afghanistan, went with his friend Saṃghadatta to Jibin, where he met Zhiyan.[9]

6 Zhiyan, a monk from Liangzhou, resided for three years in Jibin, learning the True Law under Buddhasena.[10] He intended to return to Changan with an eminent Jibin monk to promote the True Law in his homeland. His teacher and others recommended Buddhabhadra, who eventually entered Changan after crossing the Conglin (Pamirs) and six countries, deserts, and precipices, as his biographer tells. Thus Buddhabhadra had a chance to be with Kumārajīva in Changan.

7 Dharmakṣema, a native of central India, visited Jibin carrying with him a text of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa sūtra* that had been given to him by his master in India.[11] He did not stay there long before leaving for Kucha, then for Liangzhou, the capital of Northern Liang. As the biography says, Jibin was a place of Hīnayāna Buddhism with very little knowledge of the Mahāyāna, which is why his stay in Jibin was so short. In Liangzhou, Dharmakṣema started to translate into Chinese the first one-third of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa sūtra* for the ruler Juqu Mengxun. This work suddenly stopped when he returned to India for reasons we do not know. In any case, on his subsequent return to China he found the middle third of that sūtra in Khotan, and the final part was also acquired there by Juqu Mengxun's mission to find Buddhist texts. Thanks to such lucky acquisitions, Dharmakṣema was able to finish a complete translation of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa sūtra* in 421.

8 Dharmamitra was one of the highest priests of Jibin.[12] After travelling through many countries, he reached Kucha, Dunhuang, and eventually Liangzhou.

Other monks also came to China from Jibin during the fourth and fifth centuries CE: Saṃghabhaṭṭa in 381, Saṃghadeva between 365 and 384, and Puṇyatāra.[13] At the request of Huiyuan, Saṃghadeva wrote the Chinese version of the *abhidharma* texts between 376 and 396, and later translated one of the *āgamas,* with the assistance of Saṃgharakṣa, also from Jibin.

Route to Gandhāra

In ancient Chinese accounts and maps Jibin's location shifted from place to place as the Chinese geographical knowledge changed over time.[14] The *Gaoseng zhuan*'s fourth- and fifth-century placement of Jibin coincides clearly with the narrower geographical definition of Gandhāra. Crucial for understanding this location is the Buddha's alms bowl (*pātra*) which many monk-pilgrims actually saw, touched, and worshipped.[15]

Faxian begins his account of the *pātra* saying that "the Buddha's alms bowl is in this country," in the city of Puruṣapura, or modern Peshawar.[16] According to him the bowl had a bright and glossy luster of various colours, black predominating, with a thickness of about a fifth of an inch, large enough to hold more than two pecks, and showing the distinctively marked seams of its fourfold composition. It is described as having the same appearance as that of the bowls given by the four lokapālas. Faxian records how the bowl was venerated: "When it is near midday, they bring out the bowl, and along with the common people, make their various offerings to it, after which they take their midday meal. In the evening, at the time of incense, they bring out the bowl again." Faxian saw the bowl in a monastery capable of containing more than seven hundred monks, in the second year of the Yuanxing Era of the East Jin Dynasty (403 CE).[17]

According to the *Gaoseng zhuan,* Zhimeng also offered prayer to the bowl. He left Changan in the sixth year of the Hongshi Era of the Later Qin Dynasty (404 CE), the year in which Kumārajīva reached Changan. Crossing the Pamirs to the southwest of Khotan, he reached Bolun, where he saw the Buddha's spittoon in decorated stone.[18] From Bolun, he crossed the Snow Mountains and the Sindhu River to arrive in Jibin, where he worshipped the *pātra,* which, the *Gaoseng zhuan* says, had a bright luster of purplish dark blue colour with a clear fourfold composition. The colour and marks on the rim are identical to those seen by Faxian in Puruṣapura. Here there is no great hindrance to identifying Jibin as Gandhāra.[19]

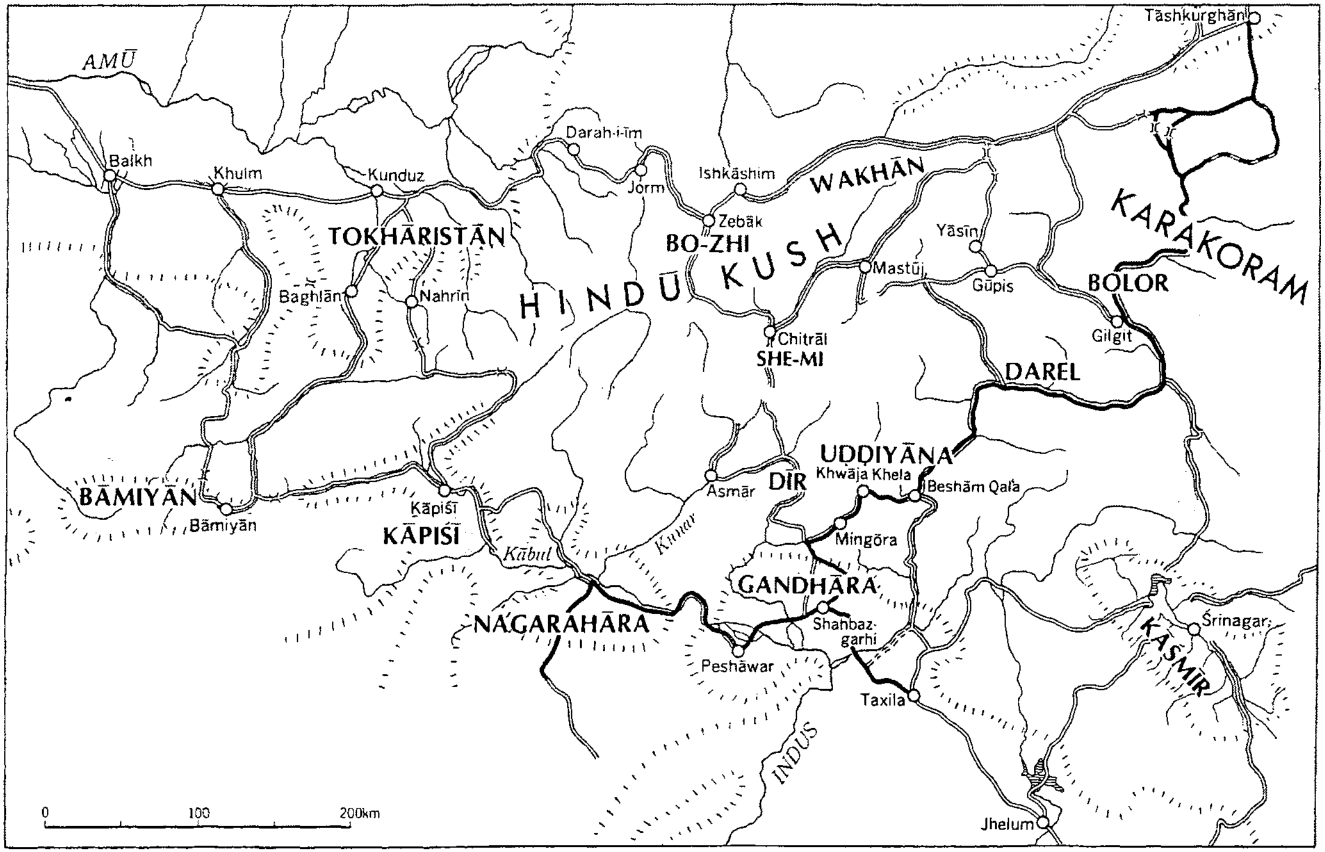


FIGURE 5.1. Faxian's itinerary, representative of the routes taken by Buddhist monks in the fourth and fifth centuries CE. This and following maps by the author.

The itineraries of Faxian and Zhimeng seem almost identical. Zhimeng left Changan for Bolun through Liangzhou, Yangguan, Kroraïna, Kucha, and Khotan. He proceeded through the Pamirs, two thousand Chinese miles to the southwest of Khotan, and then crossed the Snow Mountains and the Sindhu River to reach Jibin. He also extended his itinerary westward up to Nagarahāra. Departing from Jiecha, Qisha of Zhimeng, Faxian crossed over the Pamirs to enter Tuoli (Dareda or Darada), which according to him was the first country belonging to North India (Bei Tianzhu). Then he went southwest for fifteen days along the foot of the mountains to reach modern Swāt. Faxian describes his difficult journey from Darada through Swāt to Gandhāra:

> The way was difficult and rugged, running along an exceedingly precipitous bank which rose up there, a hill-like wall of rock, 10,000 cubits from the base. When one approached the edge of it, his eyes became unsteady; and if he wished to go forward in the same direction, there was no place on which he could place his foot; and beneath were the waters of the river called the Indus ... After crossing the river, the travelers came to the kingdom of Uḍḍiyāna ... Performing the summer retreat, Faxian and others descended south and arrived in Suheduo ... and going downwards from here toward the east, they came to the country of Gandhāra in five days.[20]

In the *Da Tang Xiyu ji* Xuanzang describes a route similar to Faxian's. From the royal town of Uḍḍiyāna (modern town of Mingora) toward the northeast the route crossed mountains and valleys to reach the Sindhu River. It then went north along the same river to reach the plain of Darada, where he saw a wooden statue of Maitreya, which Faxian also described as standing beside a large *saṅghārāma*.[21] Continuing east from Darada, the road went up along the Sindhu River. Then, after about 500 Chinese miles, with the help of suspension bridges and footways made of wood across chasms and precipices, it was possible to reach Boluluo (Zhimeng's Bolun), described as a long, narrow region running east to west.[22] The routes described by Faxian and Xuanzang are one and the same: a road that runs from Mingora along the Swāt River to modern Khwaja Khela, turning east to reach Shang in the Indus Valley, then going north or northeast along the Indus. Darada seems to have been located around Chilas, just east of a bend of the Indus. Boluluo or Bolor may be ascribable to the vast area including Gupis, Gilgit, and Skardu.

The biography of Fayong, or Dharmōdgata, who offered a prayer to the bowl in Jibin, gives more information on this route. He left China in 420, headed to Jibin:

> Beneath the foot there is a large river flowing rapidly like an arrow. Between both sides of the east and west mountains, there is a bridge made of ropes of twisted twigs which connects one side of the mountains with the other. When crossing, ten persons should make a group. If one succeeds in crossing, a signal fire is made. Seeing it, the others can learn about his safe arrival to cross the bridge. If they cannot see any fire for a long time, they understand what has happened with the predecessors who have tried to cross, and that a strong wind has blown them down into the river. Thus going three days, Dharmōdgata crossed the Great Snow Mountains. Since the cliff stood like a wall there was no place to rest one's foot. On the wall of the cliff there were pairs of old cavities hewn out in order to insert pegs, four of which one can use at the same time to climb up. In several days Dharmōdgata could pass there with difficulties and eventually found twelve people dead when he counted the number of his company on reaching flat land. Then he proceeded to arrive in Jibin where he worshipped the Buddha's alms bowl and learned Sanskrit during his stay of one year.[23]

Dharmōdgata's Jibin is identical with that of Zhimeng's account, i.e., Gandhāra.

Huilan, another Chinese monk, also traveled to Jibin to worship the Buddha's bowl.[24] On his way back to China he earned the respect of a nomadic prince of the Tuyuhun Kingdom who came to his throne in 439. Thus we can be quite certain that Huilan was in Jibin and saw the Buddha's bowl during the thirties of the fifth century.

The worship by Faxian, Zhimeng, Dharmōdgata, and Huilan of Buddha's bowl in Jibin took place in the first half of the fifth century. Moreover, the route they took to Jibin from the north is roughly the same. Jibin being identifiable with Gandhāra, the Chinese pilgrims' route thus ran between the Hindukush and the Karakoram, i.e., in the eastern Hindukush. Whether they came from Kāshgar or Yārkand, most of them first ascended to the Pamirs then proceeded to cross the Naizatash and the Ishkoman passes, and reached kingdoms such as Bolor, Darada, and Uḍḍiyāna.

The Western Limit of Pilgrimage

Following on the account quoted above from the biography of Dharmōdgata, the *Gaoseng zhuan* continues to say that he went westwards and came across the Sindhunadī.[25] Continuing west along the river, he entered into what the biographer calls the Rouzhi country, where he worshipped the *uṣṇīṣa* bone of the Buddha. The location of the *uṣṇīṣa* bone in modern Haḍḍa, near the boundary between ancient Nagarahāra and Gandhāra, is attested by Faxian, Daopu, and Daoyao – thus, Dharmōdgata came into the Nagarahāra country.[26]

Dharmōdgata was not the only pilgrim who reached Nagarahāra. Monks who stayed in Gandhāra would also travel farther west to Nagarahāra. This region was very popular among Chinese monks and seems to have been a must for pilgrims. It was well known for its sacred places and relics of the Buddha, which had been established on the basis of unbelievable legendary visits of the Buddha. Most famous was the sacred image that the Buddha left behind for a *nāga* king in the wall of a cave located to the southwest of the king's city, Denggang, or Dīpaṃkara, which was named after the Dīpaṃkara *jātaka*.[27] This seated image was referred to as the "shadow of the Buddha" by Chinese Buddhists. The story is described in detail in the *Guanfo Sanmeihai jing* (Sūtra on the Ocean of Contemplative Trance of Visualizing the Buddha) most probably compiled by Buddhabhadra, a native of Nagarahāra.[28]

In the Chinese Buddhist world, Nagarahāra was well known whether one actually visited there or not. For example, Huiyuan was very eager to have the Nagarahāra image painted on the wall of his abode at Lushan in 412, and had a stone monument built in commemoration of it the following year (*Guang Hongming ji*, bk. 15). In this text, Huiyuan says that he learned about this image of the Buddha from the priests who had come from the Western Region. Particular mention is made of two monks whom Huiyuan met: a Jibin monk who had obtained the most complete mastery of contemplating the Buddha, and a *śramaṇa* who had learned the *vinaya* in the south. The latter priest is to be identified with Faxian, as he went to India in search of the *vinaya* texts. The Jibin monk presumably was Buddhabhadra. The *Chu Sanzang ji ji* (bk. 14) tells us that Buddhabhadra was born in Nagarahāra as a grandson of Dharmadeva, who had come to north India from Kapilavastu as a long-distance trader. In his youth he went to Gandhāra with Saṃghadaṭṭa to learn, especially under Buddhasena, how to visualize the Buddha by profound contemplation.[29] Buddhabhadra's firsthand knowledge of the actual image in Nagarahāra and his instructions must have really been crucial for the success of Huiyuan's enterprise.[30] Presumably, all monks associated with Jibin had well acquainted themselves with that image. However, as a native of Nagarahāra as well as the editor of the *Guanfo Sanmeihai jing*, Buddhabhadra was the most eligible for describing in detail the story of how the Buddha left his image in the wall.

The significance of Nagarahāra in the fifth century does not simply reside in its sacred remains and relics. It would not have been strange for the Chinese monks traveling to Gandhāra to have proceeded directly to where Śākyamuni had lived. Yet after Gandhāra, their favorite place to visit was Nagarahāra, not Magadha or any other place in peninsular India. Most of the monks returned from Nagarahāra and proceeded to India, like Faxian, who crossed the Spin Ghar Ranges southwards to reach Bannu and beyond. There

is no evidence in any Chinese written sources, Buddhist or secular, of travel west beyond Nagarahāra, so these areas must have been considered unimportant, for pilgrimage at least.

Song Yun's Itinerary in the Hindukush

Such an understanding of Nagarahāra gives us very important clues for the history of Gandhāra, particularly in light of Song Yun's travels. According to the account of Song Yun's travels edited by Yang Xuanzhi, in the beginning of the eighth month of the second year of the Shengui Era (519 CE), Song Yun entered into the territory of Kharband (Tashkurghan) in the Pamirs. Then he reached Bohuo (Wa'khān), described as being bounded by the Great Snow Mountains in the south. In the beginning of the tenth month (probably in 519 CE), he is said to have arrived in the country of the Hephthalites. After meeting the king of the Hephthalites, Song Yun proceeded toward Gandhāra to meet the Hephthalite *tegin*. On his way he passed through the kingdom of Bozhi (Zebak) in the beginning of the eleventh month and reached Shemi (Chitral) in the middle of that month.[31] Shemi is described as having barren land and very indigent people.

The editor of the account of his travels then continues abruptly as follows: "The steep and precipitous path is dangerous for passing, and only a man and a horse can barely pass. A path penetrates from Bolule [Bolor] to Uḍḍiyāna. The bridge is made of iron chains and, suspended in the air, it forms a passage. One cannot see the bottom of the valley beneath his foot and there is nothing to catch hold of beside him ... In the beginning of the twelfth month he entered into the kingdom of Uḍḍiyāna."[32]

The quoted text alludes to the dangerous road between Bolule and Swāt. No mention is made of how or whether Song Yun went from Shemi to Bolule, so whether he really made the latter trip cannot be judged from this paragraph. In this connection, the *Weishu* (Dynastic History of the Northern Wei), in the chapter recording the kingdoms of the Western Region, helps us to reconstruct Song Yun's itinerary between Chitral and Uḍḍiyāna, because it includes information from the monk Huisheng, who accompanied Song Yun. "Shemi is located in the mountains to the south of Bozhi. The people do not believe in Buddhism but devote themselves solely to deities of paganism ... Under the Hephthalite hegemony is the kingdom of Shemi, to the east of which is Bolule, and the path between Shemi and Bolule is steep but passable only with the help of iron chains, the deep bottom of the valley being invisible. During the Xiping Era (516–17) Song Yun and others could not arrive there [in Bolule]."[33]

The last sentence can also be found in volume 186 of the *Taiping Huanyu ji*, which was compiled later in the Northern Song Dynasty. As the sentence of

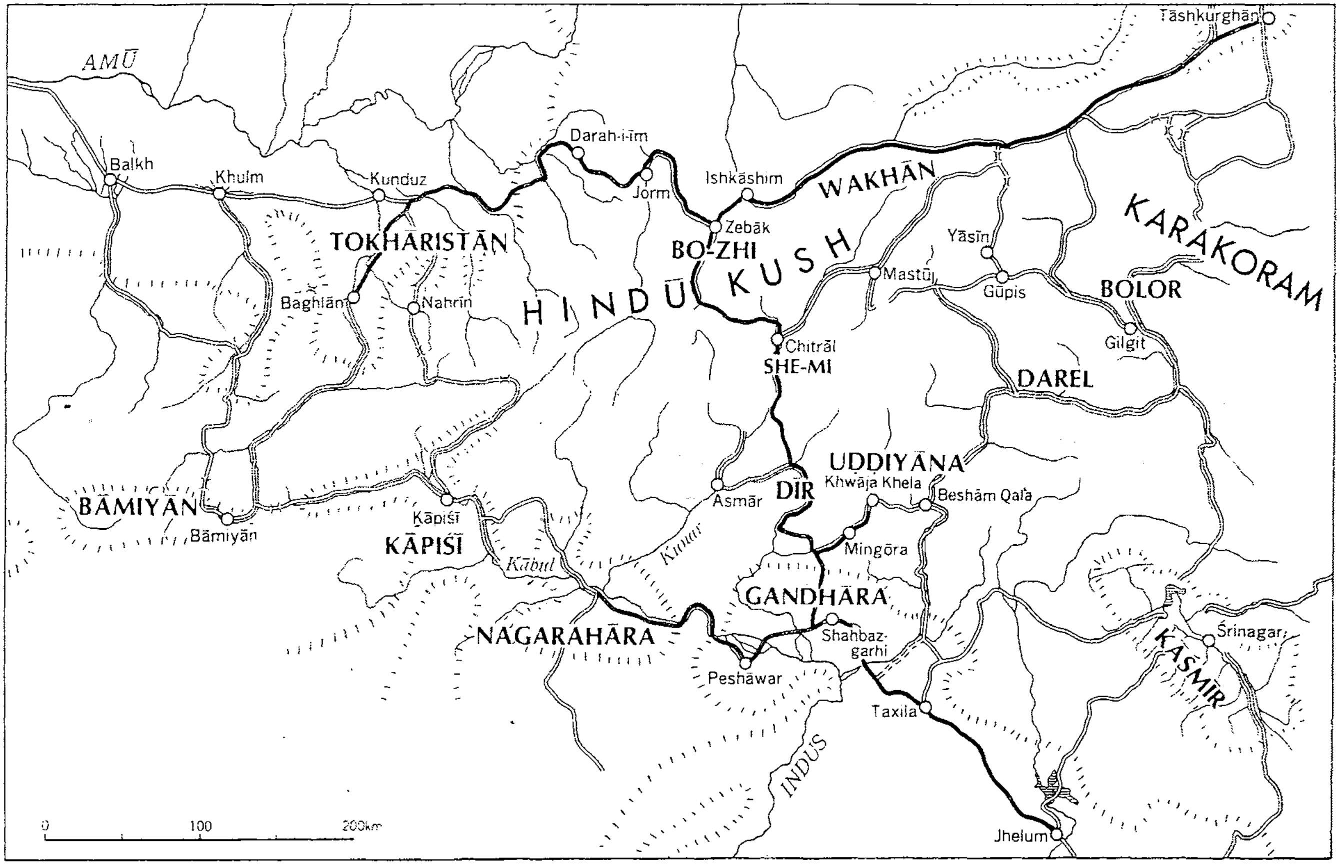


FIGURE 5.2. Song Yun's itinerary between 518 and 520 CE.

the *Taiping Huanyu ji* in question was probably quoted from Song Yun's original narrative, it seems that Song Yun did not travel to Bolule. Presumably his actual itinerary went from Shemi directly to Uḍḍiyāna. He must have visited modern Dir on his way to Uḍḍiyāna. Chavannes rightly maintains that the kingdom of Bozhi between the Hephthalites' country and Shemi is the valley of Darya-e Sanglich around Zebak. Yang Xuanzhi, the editor of Song Yun's account, locates it to the north of Shemi, while the Western Region chapter of the *Weishu* says that Bozhi lies to the south of Bohuo (Wa'khān).

In the middle of the fourth month of the first year of the Zhengguang Era (520 CE), Song Yun reached Gandhāra from Uḍḍiyāna and met the Hephthalite *tegin* as a diplomatic official of Northern Wei. The purpose of Song Yun's travel was to see the Hephthalite kings in both Tokharistan and Gandhāra. However, after describing Gandhāra, the editor Yang Xuanzhi quotes an earlier narrative of the monk Daoyao to describe Nagarahāra. Though Chavannes doubted Song Yun's visit to Nagarahāra,[34] I presume that Yang Xuanzhi intended to complete his account of Song Yun's travels by using an even earlier account by Daoyao, who was there in the fifties of the fifth century.[35] In his postscript, Yang Xuanzhi clearly writes about the source materials he used for editing the account of Song Yun's travels. "As Xuanzhi considers, the narrative of the travels of Huisheng is very incomplete in many points. I have therefore depended on the narrative of Daoyao and the personal memoirs of Song Yun. Accordingly, herewith I will clearly record all the sources that have been used in order to fill up the blanks of texts."[36] Huisheng accompanied Song Yun at the order of Empress Dowager Hu for the sake of searching for the Buddhist scriptures. For a reconstruction of Song Yun's travels as an official mission to the Hephthalites, Yang Xuanzhi first of all seems to have based himself upon the narrative of Huisheng, which must have given only a simple account of their itinerary. Because that narrative was so simple, he supplemented it with other accounts such as those of Song Yun and Daoyao. The existence of the quoted explanation regarding Nagarahāra suggests that Song Yun actually went westwards from Gandhāra.

The Hephthalite headquarters that Song Yun and Huisheng visited were not in Badakhshan, as scholars have previously thought. The two Chinese men entered into the country of the Hephthalites in the beginning of the tenth month, i.e., in the early winter or in late autumn of our calendar. At that time of year, the nomads had come from the summer pastures in the mountainous regions back down to their winter settlements on the plain. In this case, the summer quarters were in Badakhshan, which today is visited by the Kandahari Pashtuns. According to Song Yun's report about the Hephthalite country, "the cultivable lands are extensively numerous; mountains and marshes

being as far as one can see."[37] The landscape is a plain with areas of fields and marshes, and mountains in the distance. Song Yun must have met the Hephthalite king at his winter quarters in the Baghlan plain along the middle course of the Surkhab.[38]

Song Yun's travel route covers only the northern and southeastern parts of the Hindukush. He was warmly received by the Hephthalite chief in Tokharistan and therefore he must have been given protection on his way from Tokharistan to Gandhāra, where the Hephthalite *tegin* was, through Zebak (Bozhi), Chitral (Shemi), and Uḍḍiyāna. According to the Western Region chapter of the *Weishu*, Yarkand, Tashkurghan, Wa'khān, Chitral, and Gandhāra were subjected to the Hephthalites. Thus, the countries Song Yun visited on his way to Gandhāra were under Hephthalite hegemony.

Song Yun had to go through Wa'khān to Tokharistan in order to see the Hephthalite king, so his route naturally projected westwards, unlike the usual route of the Buddhist pilgrims, which runs north-south in the western Karakoram. Of importance is the fact that Song Yun, on the way to meet the Gandhāra *tegin* after visiting the chief of the Hephthalites in Tokharistan, took an eastward route in the Hindukush despite a severe winter season. If it is correct that the winter quarters of the Hephthalites were on the plain of Baghlan-Gori, Song Yun was in close proximity to the northern foot of the Hindukush and thus to Bāmiyān. But he never proceeded south to cross the western fringe of this mountain range. No mention of Bāmiyān or of the regions to the south of the Hindukush appear in the account of Song Yun's or in the *Weishu*. This implies that Hephthalite power did not extend to Bāmiyān and Kāpiśī.[39]

A survey of Song Yun's travels thus leads us to a pair of conclusions. First, until 520 the same western Karakoram trajectory followed by Buddhist pilgrims in the fourth and fifth centuries remained the main route connecting the north to Gandhāra, which was an important terminal of the route. Second, no written evidence suggests the existence in the time before Song Yun of a western route connecting Nagarahāra to Tokharistan via Kāpiśī and Bāmiyān over the Hindukush, or of a route running from the Baghlan-Ghori plain southward to the Kāpiśī-Kabul-Zabulistan regions through Bāmiyān.

Change of the Itinerary

The century between Song Yun in 520 and Xuanzang in 630 saw a drastic change in pilgrimages and the route crossing the Hindukush. The previous route in the eastern Hindukush or the western Karakoram ceased to be used. Chinese pilgrims disappeared from the scene, and the number of Indian monks who arrived in China suddenly decreased – only fifteen are recorded for this

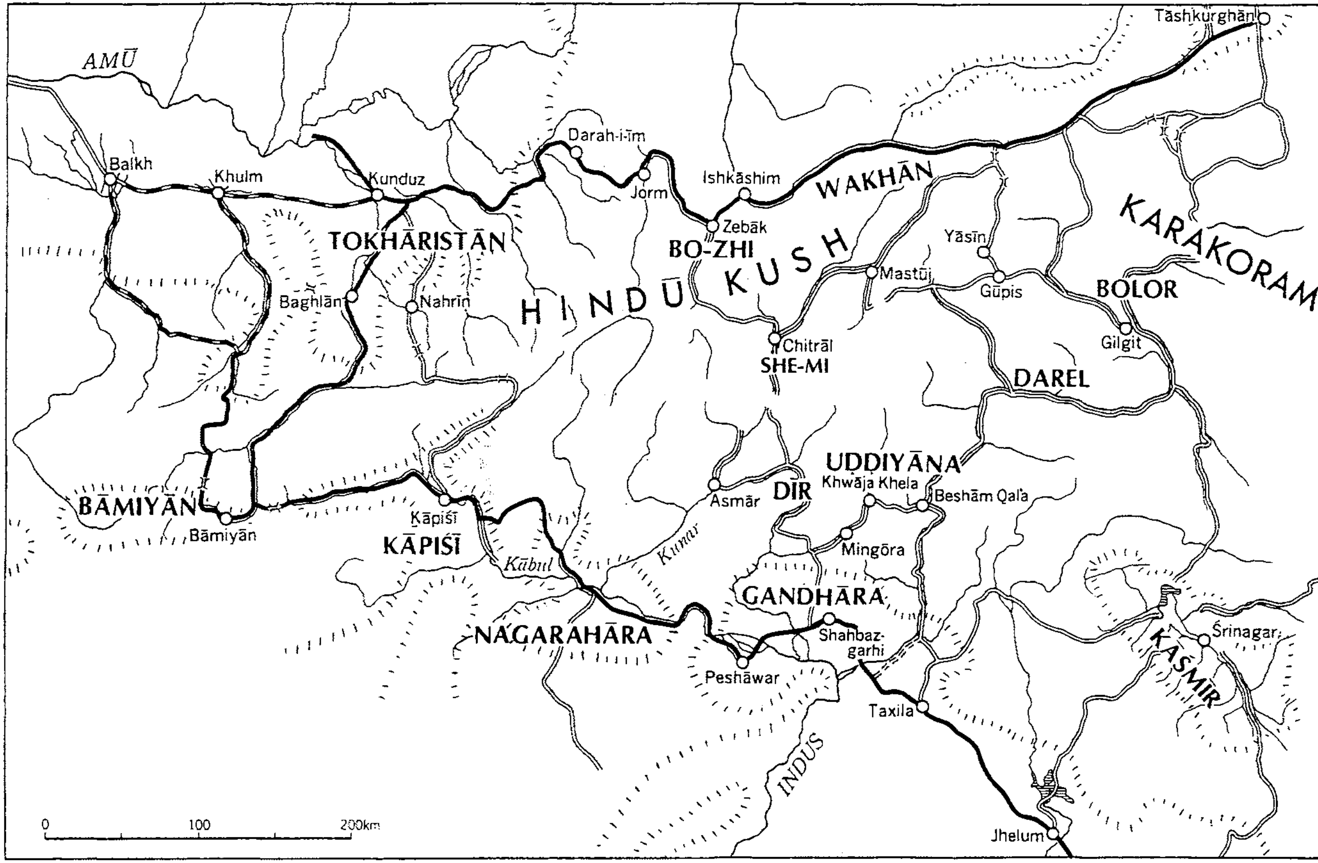


FIGURE 5.3. Routes taken by Jinagupta in 554–55 and by Dharmagupta in the early 580s.

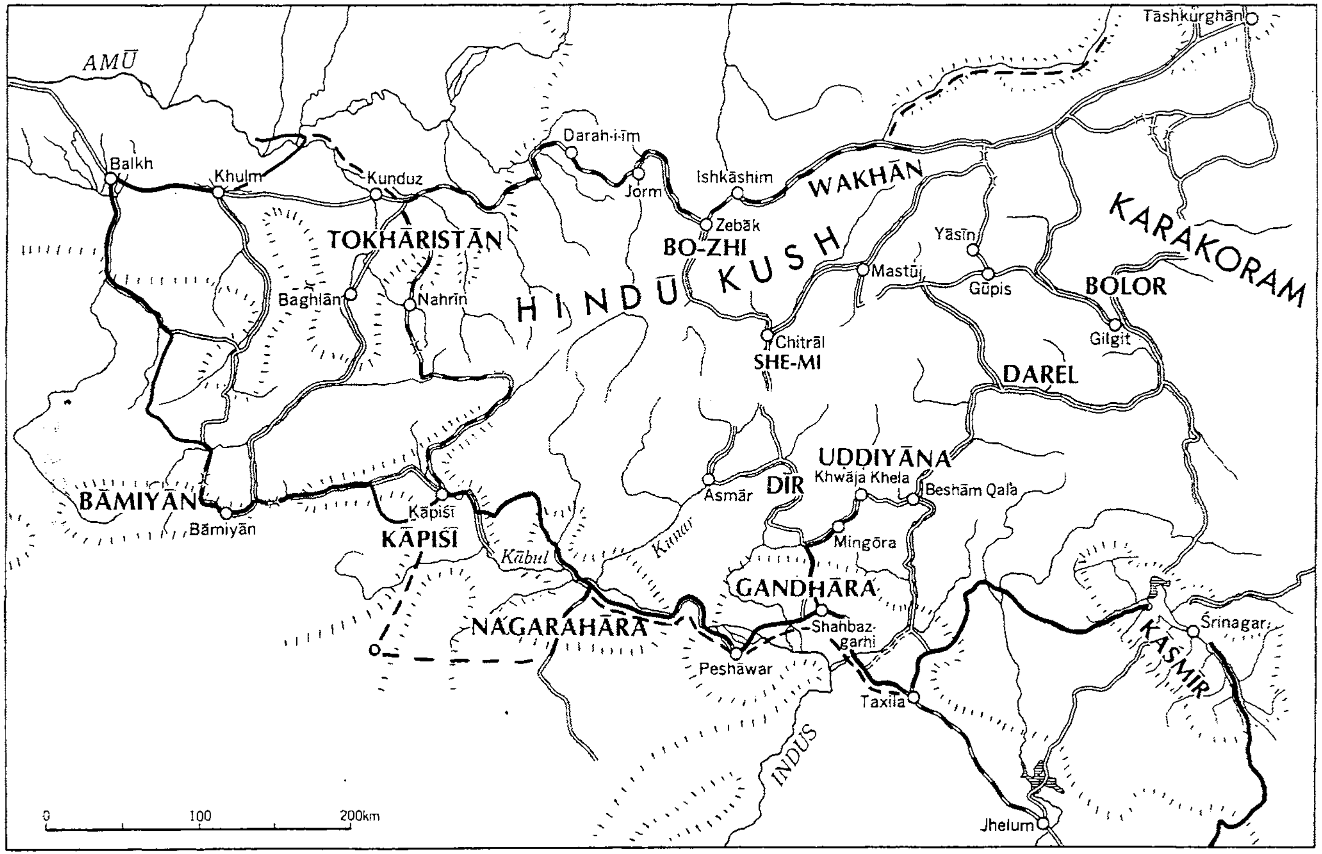


FIGURE 5.4. Xuanzang's itineraries. The solid line indicates the way to India.

period in the *Tang Gaoseng zhuan* (Tang Biographies of Eminent Monks). Gandhāra was not a terminal anymore, as caravans from India bypassed it to reach Kāpiśī and Bāmiyān before arriving in Tokharistan. In this respect, the biographies of two Indian monks are very important. The earliest known traveler on this new road was Jinagupta, who left Gandhāra around 554 and reached the Chinese border in 557. Next comes Dharmagupta, who took the same road in the 570s. Their biographies are both in the second book of the *Tang Gaoseng zhuan.*

Jinagupta was a monk born in Gandhāra in 528, the youngest son of Vajrapāla in Puruṣapura.[40] He entered the priesthood in the Mahāvaṇa Vihāra under the guidance of Jñānayaśas. His biographer writes the following:

> With his master he went around India to offer prayer to divine vestiges which still remained in the sacred lands of India. Then, observing the complete precepts and staying in summer retreat for three months at the age of twenty-seven in 554, Jinagupta made up his mind to travel together with his master and other fellow monks to spread the Buddha's Law. Ten of the monks thus left the territory of Gandhāra, taking the route via Kāpiśī. They stayed one year there. The king of Kāpiśī eagerly requested Jinagupta's master to be the chief of a Buddhist assembly.[41] Intending to make a long tour after Kāpiśī, the group crossed over the western fringe of the Great Snow Mountains [Daxueshan xizu], certainly the most precipitous in the world, and finally arrived in the kingdom of the Hephthalites. The land was barren, with little population, and nobody prepared the necessary drink and food. Jinagupta eventually discarded his monk's robe and did his best for the sake of his master. Although often encountering current political difficulties, he luckily escaped from harm's way through the protection of supernatural power. He then visited kingdoms such as Tashkurghan and Khotan, where he had to stay for a while because he often endured summer rains and icy snows. However, as Buddhism had been little prevalent, he did not stay there so long. Then he reached the territory of Tuyuhun [15 Chinese miles to the west of Kuku Nor], and it is in the year following the fall of the Western Wei Dynasty [557 CE] that they arrived in Shanzhou [modern Ledu].[42] In spite of suffering much trouble and danger throughout his travels he was still more energetic. When he arrived there, he knew three years had passed since he left Gandhāra. More than half of his companions who had joined him on his departure had died on the way. Still alive were the four who were able to arrive. In the first year of the Wucheng Era under the rule of Emperor Ming of the Zhou Dynasty [559 CE] Jinagupta first arrived in Changan and stayed there in the temple Zaotang.[43]

The date of Jinagupta's departure from Gandhāra can be surmised as following his summer retreat in 554, and his arrival in Shanzhou (Ledu) clearly occurred in 557. So he may have stayed in Kāpiśī and Bāmiyān between the years 554 and 557 – most probably in 555, considering that it took three years to make the journey from Peshawar to Ledu.

After Jinagupta, in the same chapter of the *Gaoseng zhuan*, comes Dharmagupta.[44] He was not from Gandhāra but born in Laṭa, in western India (Xi Tianzhu), the eldest son of a *kṣatriya* family.[45] At the age of twenty-three, he went to Kanyakubja (Kanauj) in order to join a Buddhist community. Two years later, at the age of twenty-five, he observed the precepts in the Kūmuda Saṃghārāma and was guided by Sāmantadeva as an upādhyāya. Then Dharmagupta left for Takkadeśa, where he stayed a year with his master, who had been invited to Takkadeśa by the king. After his master returned home, Dharmagupta lived in the Deva Vihāra four more years. Having visited various countries and *vihāras*, both Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna, he is said to have gained twice as much knowledge as he had in Kanyakubja. As the biography says, merchants from the northern routes often came to Takkadeśa and told him about Maha-Cīna (Great China) in the far east. When he first heard of it, he could not believe in the existence of such a country. However, since he had no specific place to proselytize, in spite of his earnest desire to, Dharmagupta eventually set out with six companions toward the kingdom of Kāpiśī. He was probably twenty-nine at this time.

The biography does not mention Gandhāra or Taxila when relating Dharmagupta's journey to Kāpiśī. This may suggest that there was no important place for Buddhist activities on that road between Takkadeśa and Kāpiśī. It also indicates that such a remote country, located at the western foot of the Hindukush, was already well known even in the Punjab. In Kāpiśī Dharmagupta stayed in the king's temple (*wangsi* according to the biographer),[46] then moved into the capital city (modern Begram) and resided there with four fellow monks for more than two years. During his stay, he visited various temples and learned about local Buddhism. However, his goal of spreading the Law was not fully satisfied. At the places where merchants stayed, Dharmagupta again heard of Maha-Cīna, where the Triratna was flourishing. So he and his fellows decided to visit China, mainly because they had a strong desire to make the True Law prevail there. They crossed the western fringe of the Snow Mountains, Bochuluo (Bakhla or Baghlan), Boduochana (Badakhshān), and Damoxixuduo (Wa'khān), and reached Kharbhandan, where they stayed a year.[47] In the tenth month, during the winter of the Kaihuang Era (590 CE), Dharmagupta arrived in the Sui Dynasty's capital city.

He was probably twenty-nine when he left Takkadeśa, and his biography offers a clue as to when he crossed the Hindukush. The total duration of his

stays in various kingdoms on the way to China amounts to ten years: two years in Kāpiśī, one year in Kharbhandan, two years in Kucha, two years in Kara Shahr, two years in Turfan and one year in Hami. This calculation allows us to establish that Dharmagupta might have left Takkadeśa and crossed the Hindukush in the late seventies of the sixth century. This date fits well with the fact that the third Turkish attack sometime before 568 completely weakened the Hephthalite presence in Tokharistan,[48] and Dharmagupta's biography does not mention the Hephthalites when describing Tokharistan.

In the account of Dharmagupta's itinerary, a Chinese phrase attracts our attention. It is "the western fringe of the Snow Mountains," which also appears in Jinagupta's biography in the same context. Certainly it refers to an area between Kāpiśī and Tokharistan, probably Bāmiyān. A similar itinerary to those of Dharmagupta and Jinagupta is found in the preface of the *Xiyu Tuji* (Illustrated Account of the Western Region) edited in the first half of 606 by Pei Ju, a Sui officer in charge of foreign relations. The whole text of the account is lost but for the preface, which is quoted in its entirety in Pei Ju's biography in Book 67 of the *Suishu*.[49] His informants were all western merchants of long-distance trade who flocked together at Zhangye, an important western gateway to China. Pei Ju specifically explains the three main routes – a northern, a southern, and a central – leading to the Western Sea from Dunhuang at the time around 606. The western half of the southern route is identical to the itineraries of Dharmagupta and Jinagupta. Following that road beyond the Pamirs, one can reach north India (North Brahman Country according to Pei Ju) and eventually the Western Sea via such places as Tokhara, the land of the Hephthalites, Bāmiyān, and Kāpiśī.[50] The similarities between this and the other itineraries give a firm clue for fixing the "western fringe" as Bāmiyān.

The passage through the western Karakoram was not busy for long after Song Yun's travels. The routes of Jinagupta and Dharmagupta show that the highway connecting India with Central Asia shifted drastically to the west. However, there is a slight difference between these two itineraries. From Jinagupta's story one has the impression that the Hephthalites were falling into decline in Tokharistan, but there is no reference to them at all in the slightly later biography of Dharmagupta's. The two biographies inform us of a subtle change in the political and social atmosphere of Tokharistan. On this new road were such countries as Kāpiśī, at the gateway to the Hindukush, and Bāmiyān, a necessary transit place for travelers crossing the mountains.

The emergence of the new route was not accidental. First of all, there is no mention of the Gandhāra-Bolor-Tashkurghan route in the preface of the *Xiyu Tuji* dated to 606. The northern route that Pei Ju referred to ran from Dunhuang to the Western Sea via Hami, Barkul Nor, the steppe areas to the

north of the Tianshan Ranges, and the extensive areas with rivers running northwards, to reach eventually the Byzantine Empire. Pei Ju's central route started from Dunhuang and led to the Western Sea through Turfan, Argi (modern Kara Shahr), Kucha, Kashgar, the Pamirs, Ferghana, various fortified cities in Sogd, and Sasanian Persia. His allusion only to these two routes and the southern one indicates that the passage through the western fringe of the Hindukush was the only way connecting India to Central Asia around 606. Thus, it is undeniable that the route through the western Hindukush had been established by 606. In fact, the western half of the southern route is similar to Xuanzang's itinerary. He proceeded in 629 from Tokharistan to India through Bāmiyān, Kāpiśī, Lampāka, and Nagarahāra.

The seventh-century edition of the "Account of Western Barbarians" in the *Tongdian* mentions routes leading through the Pamirs in two directions, one toward Wa'khān and the other toward Bolor. The *Tongdian* is an encyclopedia edited by Du Yu in the seventh century, but, as its author explains, the information about these two roads came from a Northern Wei diplomat in the Western Region in 435–436.[51] The diplomat was not a contemporary of Du Yu, and therefore no written evidence supports the survival of the western Karakoram highway after the time of Song Yun.

Further, in the middle of the seventh century Xuanzhao specifically refers to Kāpiśī as being on the road between India and Central Asia. As Yijing states in the first volume of the *Da Tang Xiyu Qiufa Gaoseng zhuan* (The Great Tang Biographies of Eminent Monks being in Search of the Law in India), Xuanzhao could not find any way to return to China during his second visit to India. Neither the Nepal road nor the Kāpiśī one was passable since the Tibetans had blocked the Nepal road and the Arabs had interrupted the Kāpiśī road. This indicates that the Kāpiśī road was one of the two main ways to reach China from the subcontinent in the middle of the seventh century.[52]

Historical Implications of the Route Change

What caused the change in route? It seems that it was inevitably correlated with the movements of the nomadic empires in the north of the Hindukush. The Hephthalite downfall in western Central Asia was accelerated by a series of Turkish attacks, first by Mugan Khaqan in 555 and then by Sinjibu Khaqan, in alliance with Sasanian Khosraw Anushirwan in 558.[53] The Hephthalites' loss of power is clearly demonstrated by the fact that they were unable to send to the court of Northern Zhou their trade envoys, who had been received by Chinese courts almost every year since 507.[54] As mentioned earlier, Jinagupta stayed at the Hephthalite headquarters in about 555. In his biography, in the paragraph concerning the Hephthalites, special attention should be called to the Chinese phrase *shijian,* which tells us that Jinagupta often

suffered at the Hephthalite court. It literally means "current emergency" or "current difficulty," which might refer to the Turkish attacks in 555. The disintegration of the Hephthalites naturally led to the breaking off of ties between their headquarters in Tokharistan and the Gandhāra *tegin,* resulting in the closure of the route. The regions between the Hindukush and the Karakoram, such as Wa'khān, Zebak, Chitral, Bolor, and Swāt must have been desolately separated from each other.

After their victory over the Hephthalites in the middle of the sixth century, the nomadic West Turks occupied the land, which was most useful to them in Tokharistan. Unlike those who had formed powerful nomadic empires before, such as the Hephthalites and the Kuṣāṇas, the West Turks never crossed the Hindukush south to the regions of Kāpiśī and Zābul, nor southeast to the subcontinent, and never invaded Gandhāra. Particularly important for the history of these regions is that they broke with the traditional pattern of crossing the mountains southeast toward India. Such a pattern seems to have been typical of the nomadic empires from the north of the Hindukush. Certainly the disappearance of the Hephthalites from the scene and the breaking of ties between Tokhāra and Gandhāra Hephthalites led to the desolation of the highway. This also resulted in the economic isolation of Gandhāra, which fell into unprecedented social disorder. Thus, the Turkish political attitude had an enormous impact.

Two or three generations after the Hephthalites invaded Gandhāra, Song Yun met the *tegin* of the Gandhāra Hephthalites in 520, at the apex of their political power. Gandhāra had been peaceful under Hephthalite rule up to the time of Song Yun, but according to him, this brutal *tegin* conducted massacres, did not believe in the Buddhist religion but rather devoted himself to demons, and fought against the Kāśmīra over the territory for three years. This seems to have caused much trouble to the land and people of Gandhāra. However, Song Yun was an eyewitness also to the magnificent Buddhist activities around Shahbaz Garhi in the centre of the Gandhāra area, and he does not make any mention of devastation or actual destruction of Buddhist temples by the Hephthalite *tegin.*[55] This Chinese ambassador only recorded the personality of the *tegin* whom he met, noting his haughtiness and brutality, and no evidence exists for the Hephthalite destruction of Buddhist temples in Gandhāra and environs at any time. A century later, Xuanzang visited the same region. According to him, the royal family of Gandhāra was extinct and the Kāpiśian deputies governed few people in deserted towns and villages, where most followed the heretical schools and few believed in the True Law. He records that one thousand monasteries were deserted ruins filled with wild shrubs, and that most of the stūpas were decayed and about one hundred heretical temples were occupied pell-mell by heretics.[56] So, the end of Gandhāra

Buddhism definitely happened after the time of Song Yun, and, I believe, the Turkish political attitudes mentioned above were largely responsible for the fall of this region. The deterioration of all the Buddhist institutions was inescapable.

Gandhāra no longer attracted pilgrims, let alone long-distance merchants, while Kāpiśī and Bāmiyān became important commercial centres. Dharmagupta's biography notes that Kāpiśī was at the junction of the northern routes. Xuanzang states about Bāmiyān that the people were remarkable, among all their neighbors, for a heart of pure faith. He also says that whether worshipping the Triratna or other deities, they were very earnest and pure at heart. As he further describes, "merchants, in arranging their prices as they come and go, fall in with the signs afforded by the deva deities. If good, they act accordingly; if evil, they seek to propitiate the powers." As to Buddhism, he says there are ten convents and about one thousand monks; they belong to the Hīnayāna school learning the Lokoṭṭaravādin's discipline.[57] Thus, wealth went through Gandhāra to Kāpiśī and Bāmiyān, the only resting place for merchants at the gateway of the Great Snow Mountains, to reach the northern foot of the Hindukush where the new Turkish chieftains ruled powerfully in place of the Hephthalites, with new politico-economical implications.

Along with merchants, Indian gods and popular beliefs traveled to countries and cities such as Bāmiyān, Balkh, and Sogd.[58] The *Da Tang Xiyu ji* describes in Bāmiyān two standing Buddhas and a nirvāṇa Buddha: "On the declivity of a hill to the northeast of the royal city is a standing image with a height of 150 Chinese feet of the Buddha made of stone. To the east of the image is a Buddhist monastery. To the east of the monastery is a standing image of the Buddha Śākyamuni made of brass, which is 100 feet high. In the monastery is a gigantic clay statue of a reclining Buddha in nirvāṇa posture which is 1000 Chinese feet long."[59] Possibly Xuanzang visited Bāmiyān not very long after such cult images were created. All such sacred colossi clearly show Bāmiyān's wordly wealth, which is also illustrated by Xuanzang's account of the magnificent state Buddhist assembly for almsgiving, which took place at a monastery that housed the reclining Buddha image, in the presence of the king, his royal family, and his vassals.

Conclusions

From Chinese Buddhist sources such as the biographies of eminent monks and the narratives of pilgrims, two main routes clearly appear crossing the Hindukush and connecting Central Asia with India. One was located at the eastern end of the Hindukush and the other at the western fringe of the same range. The first was the only highway until the Hephthalites lost power in the

middle of the sixth century. From about that time, the second route replaced the first. This change of route helped the West Turks establish their presence in Tokharistan with their main *qishlaq* at War (Warwaliz in Muslim sources), probably Bala Hisar near Qal'a-ye Zal on the south bank of the River Amu.[60] When Xuanzang visited the Turkish Tokhara Yabghu in 628, his territory covered local principalities such as Balkh to the west of War, Talaqan to the east of Khanabad, and the Khost and Nahrin districts to the east of the middle valleys of the Surkhab and to the north of the Andarab. The West Turks seem to have established friendly relations with Kāpiśī at the southern foot of the Hindukush. This relationship between Kāpiśī and the Turks further promoted the commercial prosperity of the regions along the new highway.

When the Northwest had been invaded by the Hephthalites, Bāmiyān and Kāpiśī had not fallen under their political influence. The subsequent disappearance of the Hephthalites and the absence of direct political influence of the West Turks in the region to the south of the Hindukush further stimulated the rise of local powers. The extensive region to the west of the Indus River fell into the hands of a local dynasty that had been inaugurated by Khingal, with the western capital at Kāpiśī and the eastern one at Hund.[61] Crossing the Pir Panjal Ranges south to the opposite side of the Indus, the newborn Kārkoṭa Dynasty of Kaśmīra extended their political influence to cover the regions from the Indus to the Chenab, along with the Salt Range in the south. It is noteworthy that in the time of Song Yun (ca. 520 CE) the Hephthalite *tegin* was fighting for the territory against Kaśmīra. As soon as he withdrew from the scene, Kaśmīra power covered the Punjab.

This political environment at the turn of the seventh century brought a radical change in the trade routes running through the Hindukush. Before that time the Karakoram highway, or the eastern Hindukush highway, connected Gandhāra with Tokharistan to the northwest and the Tarim Basin to the northeast. This route flourished for several centuries and brought continuous prosperity to Gandhāra and its Buddhist activities. It was eventually replaced, however, by a new route through the western Hindukush, which was secure because of the friendly Turko-Kāpiśī relations. The change was epoch-making by virtue of its negative effect on Gandhāra and its promotion of Bāmiyān and Kāpiśī as trade centres, stimulating their sudden prosperity, which gave birth to the many colossal images at Bamiyan.

Notes

This is a revised and enlarged version of Kuwayama, "Literary Evidence for Dating the Colossi in Bāmiyān," in *Orientalia: Iosephi Tucci Memoriae Dicata*, edited by G. Gnoli and L. Lanciotti, 1987.

1 Mizutani, *Daitō Saiiki ki*, 12–13.
2 Kuwayama, "Kāpiśī and Gandhāra According to Chinese Buddhist Sources." This topic was addressed at the Third International Kuṣān Conference held in Kabul in November 1982.
3 *Jinshu*, bk. 95; Taishō, *Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō*, vol. 50, 383b–87a.
4 According to Pelliot in "Reviews of the Articles by E.H. Parker," 100, Fotucheng is restorable as Buddhadāna. See also Pelliot, "Autour d'une traduction sanscrite du Tao Tö King," 419.
5 Jinshu, bk. 95; Taishō, *Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō*, vol. 50, 330–33, and vol. 55, 100a–102a.
6 Tsukamoto, *Jōron Kenkyu*, 130–34.
7 Taishō, *Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō*, vol. 50, 333c–34b, and vol. 55, 102a–c.
8 Ibid., vol. 50, 333b–c.
9 Ibid., vol. 50, 334b–35c, and vol. 55, 103b–4a. According to the *Chu Sanzang ji ji*, the origin of Zhiyan is not known.
10 Taishō, *Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō*, vol. 50, 339a–c, and vol. 55, 112b–13a.
11 Ibid., vol. 50, 335c–37a, and vol. 55, 102c–3b.
12 Ibid., vol. 50, 342c–43a, and vol. 55, 104a–b.
13 Ibid., vol. 50, 328a–b, 328c–29a, and 333a, respectively.
14 Sylvain Lévi first identified Jibin of the Tang sources with Kāpiśī; see Lévi and Chavannes, "Le Kipin"; Lévi, "Note rectificative sur le Kipin"; and Lévi, "Note additionnelle sur Indo-Scythes." Shiratori claimed that it stands for the Kabul Valley during the Han dynasties, for Kaśmīra during the North and South Dynasties period, and for Kāpiśī during both the Sui and Tang periods; see Shiratori, "Keihin Koku Kō." According to Petech, in the dynastic histories from the first century BCE to the end of the fifth century CE, Jibin indicated the Indian territories of the great political power of the Northwest, whatever it was at the time of the writings (the Śakas, the Kuṣāṇaas, the Hephthalites). In the Buddhist tradition it was Kaśmīra from the beginning (second century CE) until the time of Xuanzang; see Petech, *Northern India According to the Shui-chin-chu*. Pulleyblank, however, from the viewpoint of his phonetic system, maintains the traditional identification with Kaśmīra; see Pulleyblank, "The Consonantal System of Old Chinese."
15 In the literature regarding the life of Buddha, the four lokapālas came to present choices of bowls to the Buddha in which he would receive his first meal (offered by two merchants) seven days after the Enlightenment. According to the *Da Tang Xiyu ji* (Great Tang Record of the Western Region) each lokapāla offered one by one bowls made of such precious materials as gold, silver, crystal, lapis lazuli, and others, which were rejected by the Buddha. He eventually accepted the lokapālas' offer of four brilliant ultramarine-coloured stone bowls, all of which the Buddha stacked on his left palm and fused into one by stroking the rim of the uppermost bowl. The rim of the resulting bowl clearly showed the trace of its fourfold composition. As to how significant the Buddha's bowl was in Gandhāra, see Kuwayama, "Buddha's Bowl in Gandhāra." Xuanzang found only a foundation of the building that had enshrined the bowl, in a northern corner of Puruṣapura, and recorded that the bowl was at that time housed in the royal palace of Bolasi, a Chinese transliteration of Parasi. Bolasi is undoubtedly Sasanian Persia under the rule of either Ardashir III (628–30) or Boran (630/31).
16 Taishō, *Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō*, vol. 51, 858b.
17 Ibid. The *Da Tang Xiyu ji* refers to a stūpa standing at the location of the miracle of the creation of the Buddha's bowl, yet suggests neither worship of the bowl itself nor edifices enshrining the bowl. Importance resides in the fact that people in Magadha, or India proper, may have been interested only in what happened there, rather than in the resulting object. This may represent a more speculative attitude to the Buddha's life than the Gandhāra ritual surrounding the bowl itself, which most likely was carved out of

local blackish stone. People in Gandhāra wanted to have a relic that could be seen and touched. Such a Gandhāra-made object was liable to be taken as fake even in those days. Hence the stories that portrayed the bowl as authentic and authoritative in the frontier Buddhist world of Gandhāra. The *Fu Fazang Yinyuan zhuan* says that the Buddha's alms bowl was taken away, together with a rooster having a merciful mind, by King Kaniṣka from Pātaliputra when he besieged the city. A slightly modified version of this story appears in the *Biography of the Bodhisattva Aśvaghoṣa,* which is believed to have been translated into Chinese by Kumārajīva: A king of the Little Rouzhi of North India had carried away both the bowl and Aśvaghoṣa with him as the substitute booty for 200 million pieces of gold. The *Faxian zhuan* also says that in the old days a king of Rouzhi raised a large force and invaded this country, wishing to carry the bowl away. He and his generals were sincere believers in the Law of the Buddha, so before taking the bowl they proceeded to present their offerings on a great scale. When they had done so to the Three Treasures, the king had a large elephant grandly caparisoned and placed the bowl upon it. But the elephant knelt down on the ground and was unable to go forward. The king knew then that the time for an association between himself and the bowl had not yet arrived, and was sad and deeply ashamed of himself. Forthwith, he built a stūpa and a monastery at the place, made many additional offerings, and left a guard to watch the bowl.

18 Taishō, *Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō,* vol. 50, 343b–c, and vol. 55, 113c–14a; Uchida, "Restoration of Zhimeng's *Youxing Waiguo zhuan.*"

19 The *Gaoseng zhuan* says that the five hundred *arhats* in Jibin visited Anavatapta Lake regularly. Xuanzang also recorded the legends of five hundred *arhats* in Kaśmir. This clearly implies that Jibin in this context is Kaśmir. Zhimeng worshipped the hair, the teeth, the *uṣṇīṣa* bone, and the clear image of the Buddha in Kaweiluowei (Kapilavastu). There is no evidence for the existence of such relics in Kapilavastu in any sources. Objects of worship such as these relics attracted to Nagarahāra many Chinese pilgrims, among whom even Faxian, Song Yun, and Xuanzang are not exceptional. I surmise that Huijiao, the editor of the biography of Zhimeng, was quite careless about the precise locations of north Indian kingdoms, or he had little knowledge about Indian geography.

20 Legge, *Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms,* 26–31. Suheduo may be phonetically restorable to *sukhāta, from which the modern name Swāt may be derived. According to Faxian the Swāt Valley was divided into north and south districts, the former called Uḍḍiyāna and the latter Suheduo, which I should like to assign to a region to the west of Barikot in the lower Swāt Valley. A key to such an identification is Faxian's allusion to the place of the Śibi *jātaka* located in the district to which Xuanzang also referred.

21 The Arab chronicler Al Bīrūnī referred to a much venerated wooden idol called Śārada frequented by pilgrims at its location about a two- or three-day journey from the city of Tāneshar toward the mountains of Bolor (Sachau, *Al Beruni's India,* 117).

22 Beal, *Si-yu-Ki,* 133.

23 Taishō, *Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō,* vol. 50, 338b–39a (my translation). Despite being a Chinese native named Fayong, this monk is also called Dharmōdgata in the biography. The first translation of his biography was published by E. Chavannes as "Voyage de Song Yun dans l'Udyāna et le Gandhāra." As to why he had two names, see Shih, *Biographies des moines éminents,* 115, n. 28.

24 Taishō, *Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō,* vol. 50, 339a.

25 The route went along the river, which Dharmōdgata's biographer calls the Sindhunadī. The river's name usually appears in the biographies of monks in reference to what we now call the Indus. However, the river along which Dharmōdgata traveled is known to be the Kabul River, so it seems that the Indus and the Kabul were taken at that time to be one and the same.

26 In the biography of Kumārajīva it is said that he crossed the Rouzhi Beishan, which literally means the mountains to the north of Rouzhi.

27 Although various *jātaka* stories of self-sacrifice take place in the areas extending from Swāt to Taxila, only the Dīpaṃkara *jātaka* expressly specifies Nagarāhāra. The fact that in some writings of the Buddha's life this *jātaka* is placed at the very beginning, or comes prior to the story relating his birth, is significant in light of the above geographical distribution.

28 No Indian version exists of this scripture, which, however, is included in the traditional catalogues of the Buddhist scriptures as translated by Buddhabhadra. It should be dealt with more properly in relation with Buddhism in Nagarāhāra. The catalogue of the translated scriptures in China, such as the *Chu Sanzang ji ji*, bk. 2, does not give any date of translation and omits the first two letters, *foshuo*, which mean "the Buddha preached." See Taishō, *Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō*, vol. 55, 11c.

29 Taishō, *Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō*, vol. 55, 103b; as to his biography in the *Gaoseng zhuan*, see ibid., vol. 50, 334b–c.

30 As the most appropriate monk to have instructed Huiyuan in the image of Buddha in Nagarahāra, Tsukamoto prefers Saṃghadeva to Buddhabhadra, because he believes that Buddhabhadra was not from Nagarahāra but from Kapilavastu. As explained in his biography in the *Gaoseng zhuan*, Kapilavastu is the hometown of Buddhabhadra's grandfather. Tsukamoto missed the *Chu Sanzang ji ji*; see Tsukamoto, "Chūgoku Shoki Bukkyō-shijō niokeru Eon," 76.

31 Chavannes, in his "Voyage de Song Yun dans l'Udyāna et le Gandhāra," 406, n. 3, identified Shemi with Chitral, whereas Stein, in *Innermost Asia*, 10, criticized Chavannes, saying that the very existence of Buddhist remains in Chitral contradicts the statement that there were no followers of Buddhism in Shemi. Stein tried to put Shemi in the upper Kunar valley. I prefer Chavannes's interpretation to Stein's.

32 Zhou, *Luoyan Qielanji Xiaoshi*, 198 (my translation).

33 *Weishu*, 2280 (my translation).

34 Chavannes, "Voyage de Song Yun," 427, n. 10.

35 In an edition of the *Luoyang Qielan ji*, the character *rong* of Daorong is replaced by *yao*. We know well the monk Daoyao, who appears in the fifth section of the second book of the *Shijia Fangzhi*. This book tells the following about him: "In the last year of the Later Wei Emperor Taiwu's reign (451 CE), the *śramana* Daoyao penetrated from the Sule (Kashgar) road through the Hindu (the River Indus) to the kingdom of Sengqieshi (Sañkāśya) or modern Sankisa. On returning to China, he again took the same route as he had used before; the narrative of his journey composed one book." Uchida, "Introductory Inquiry to the Account of Pilgrimage in the Western Regions by Song Yun and Huijiao," 116.

36 Zhou, *Luoyan Qielanji Xiaoshi*, 225 (my translation).

37 Ibid., 195.

38 Kuwayama, "Hephthalites in Tokharistan and Northwest India."

39 About two centuries later, Huichao described Bāmiyān as follows: "The king is of Iranian stock; Bamiyan does not belong to another country; the troops are strong and great in number, so other countries do not venture to invade" (see Kuwayama, *Echōō*, 23 and 24; also Fuchs, "Huei-ch'ao's Pilgerreise," 25). Pelliot, in his "Bāmiyān dans les textes chinois," 76, believes that "Fanyang" in the *Beishi* is a transcription of "Bāmiyān." In the *Beishi* and in the existing *Weishu*, however, Fanyang appears as being the eastern boundary of Tokharistan. Bāmiyān is located outside the territory of Tokharistan, as evidenced by the fact that Xuanzang entered into the region of Bāmiyān after leaving Tokharistan; see Beal, *Life of Hiuen-Tsiang*, 52; Julien, *Histoire de la vie de Hiouen-Thsang*, 68. On the other hand, it is noteworthy that "Fantang-zhou" appears in volume 73 of the *Tang Huiyao* as being one of the twenty-four principalities of Tokharistan under the Tang rule. The headquarters of this division was called Bateshan, which also appears in the narrative of Huichao's

travels as Puteshan (see Fuchs, "Huei-ch'ao's Pilgerreise," 449, 466) and was located about a one-month march east of the capital town of Tokharistan. It is very clear that Bateshan/Puteshan is identical with Badakhshan.

The name "Fantang" could have also been a mistaken copy of "Fanyang," as the two Chinese characters "tang" and "yang" look very similar. This might especially be true in light of the fact that the official compilation of the *Beishi* took place at a time when the Chinese established their presence in central Asia and named every important local town "Fantang zhou." "Fanyang" in the *Beishi* is a name reflecting the Tang presence in Central Asia and refers to a town or region in the Badakhshan during the early Tang Dynasty. Therefore, no positive evidence exists of any mention of Bāmiyān during the Northern Wei Dynasty. Pelliot's identification of Bāmiyān in the time of the Noirthern Wei is unacceptable.

40 Taishō, *Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō,* vol. 50, 433b–34c; Chavannes, "Jinagupta," 332, n. 1.

41 The original word *fa*[*dharma*]-*zhu* literally means "chief of the dharma." Though very simple, the word is unclear in meaning, particularly when associated with the phrase "divine factors prevailed far and wide." I tentatively interpret *fa-zhu* as "chief of an assembly for the dharma." Both the assembly called by the king himself and the great profit as a result of it lead us to the understanding that this assembly might have been the so-called *pañcapariṣad*. It was often held by the kings in the valleys of Bāmiyān and Kabul, as recorded by Xuanzang in the *Da Tang Xiyu ji* and his biography, *Da Tang Da Ciensi sanzangfashi zhuan*. Chavannes in his "Jinagupta," 339–40, interprets the text as: "The king of this country earnestly wanted Jinagupta's masters to treat them as chiefs of the religion; the advantages the king gave them were perfect." He takes *fa-zhu* as "chiefs of the religion," but I do not agree with the plural form and the meaning he attributes to this word. Chinese words do not have plurals, and perhaps Chavannes thought that the word *shi* (master) implied all of the monks, including Jinagupta.

42 Only the Koryo Edition renders the date of his arrival as the first year of the Datong Era of Western Wei, while all other texts replace Datong with a letter meaning "succeeding" or "later," which I also prefer.

43 *Tang Gaoseng Zhuan,* vol. 2, and Taishō, *Taishō Shinshu Daizokyo,* vol. 50, 433b–34c (my translation).

44 Taishō, *Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō,* vol. 50, 434c–35c.

45 In the *Da Tang Xiyu ji,* bk. 11, Valabhī is mentioned as Northern Lala (Laṭa) and Mālwā as Southern Lala. Mālwā might be identical with modern Baroda, as the *Da Tang Xiyu ji* says that it is protected on the west by the River Mahī. If so, Valabhī and Mālwā should be western and eastern Laṭa, respectively. In Yijin's *Da Tang Xiyu Qiufa Gaoseng zhuan* the Lala country also appears as a country where Xuanzhao, upon imperial order, went in search of an elixir of life in the middle of the seventh century.

46 Compare this temple of the king, which is outside the city, with the Buddhist temple of the previous king referred to by Xuanzang which is on the south bank of the large river (the Panjshir). If the *wangsi* in this biography and the previous king's temple of Xuanzang are the same, there may have been the accession of a new Kāpiśian king between the 570s and 629.

47 Damoxixuduo is identical to Damoxitiedi in the *Da Tang Xiyu ji,* bk. 12, and in the *Da Tang Daciensi Sanzangfashi zhuan,* bk. 5. They seem to have been restored as (skt.) Dharmasthiti. The place name should not be solved in Sanskrit, although Xuanzang tended to interpret geographical names outside India within his knowledge of Sanskrit; see Marquart, *Ērānšahr,* 225. This name might be solved in Iranian.

48 The Hephthalites were still present in Tokharistan together with the West Turks after the latter politically replaced the former; see Kuwayama, "Hephthalites in Tokharistan and Northwest India," 120–26; also *Zhoushu,* bk. 50.

49 Kuwayama, "Khair Khana and its Chinese Evidence," 100–102. See also Uchida, "Reconstructions of the *Xiyu Tuji*."
50 Kāpiśī is identified with the Cao kingdom in the *Suishu*, which has been traditionally assigned to Zabulistan; Kuwayama, "Khair Khana and its Chinese Evidence," 99–101.
51 The *Tongdian*, bk. 191, says, "When the Later Wei Emperor Taiwu was on the royal throne, he sent Dongyan to the Western Regions, and he returned and informed."
52 Taishō, *Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō*, vol. 51, 1c–2a.
53 Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 64; Altheim, *Geschichte der Hunnen*, vol. 2, 260; Haussig, "Quellen über die zentralasiatischen Herkunft der europäischen Awaren," 23; Kuwayama, "Hephthalites in Tokharistan and Northwest India," 117–18.
54 The *Zhoushu*, bk. 50, records that the last Hephthalite envoy came to China in the second year of the Emperor Ming's rule (558 CE), and that afterward the Hephthalites were conquered by the Turks, with the result that their *ulaqs* were dispersed and their tributes to China ended.
55 For Song Yun's description of Gandhāra, see the English translation by Wang Yi-t'ung, *Record of Buddhist Monasteries in Lo-yang*, 235.
56 Beal, *Si-Yu-Ki*, 97.
57 Ibid., 50.
58 Kruglikova, *Dilberdjin*, 45, fig. 30; Kuwayama, "First Excavation at Tepe Skandar," 8–12, and "Turki Śāhis," 381–83; Belenitski and Marshak, "L'art de Piandjikent," 5, figs. 3–5.
59 Beal, *Si-Yu-Ki*, 50–52. The Chinese character "thousand" could also be read as "ten."
60 Kuwayama, "Hephthalites in Tokharistan and Northwest India," 120.
61 On the rise of Khingal in Kāpiśī, see Kuwayama, "L'Inscription de Gaṇeśa" and "Not Hephthalite but Kapiśian Khingal."

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6 New Manuscript Sources for the Study of Gandhāran Buddhism

Richard Salomon

Gandhāran studies in general and studies of Gandhāran Buddhism in particular have traditionally been, and continue to be, dominated by archaeologists and art historians. In fact, until very recently materials falling within the purview of these fields – mainly artistic and archaeological remains, including inscriptions – were nearly all that we had at our disposal for the study of Gandhāran Buddhism. For textual scholars other than the very few epigraphists, there was precious little – or, to be more specific, there was only one thing, namely the so-called "Gāndhārī Dharmapada," more precisely referred to as the Khotan Dharmapada. This birchbark scroll manuscript in Kharoṣṭhī script has been, since its discovery in 1892, virtually the sole known specimen of a Buddhist manuscript written in the language that we now call Gāndhārī. The significance of this unique "orphan" was in many ways difficult to estimate until now, as there was nothing to compare it to. This manuscript was found not in Gandhāra itself, but at Kohmārī Mazār near Khotan in Xinjiang (or "Chinese Central Asia" as it was then known), so that, although its language and script indisputably marked it as a product of the cultural sphere of Greater Gandhāra, it was not at all clear to what extent it actually represented the traditions of Gandhāra proper. Moreover, it was not certain whether this unique Gāndhārī manuscript was in some sense an oddity, or even a unique aberration in the cultural tradition of Greater Gandhāra, or whether it was, rather, the sole surviving document – the tip of the iceberg, as it were – of a larger but otherwise unknown corpus of Buddhist texts in Gāndhārī/Kharoṣṭhī, perhaps even of something that could be called a "Gāndhārī canon" of Buddhism.

In light of the discovery in the last few years of large numbers of other similar Gandhāran Buddhist manuscripts, the latter interpretation has clearly turned out to be the correct one. Although the study and publication of this new material are still in the early stages, and the complete process will take many years, it is already obvious that scholars of Gandhāran Buddhism, and of

Gandhāran studies in general, will have a completely new body of material to work with. At this point, while we can only begin to guess in what ways this will reshape and improve our understanding of Buddhism in Gandhāra, we can be quite sure that it will have profound effects.

Recent Discoveries of Gandhāran Manuscripts

The British Library Scrolls

The first and still the most important of the recent discoveries of Gandhāran manuscripts is the collection of 29 fragments of birchbark scrolls obtained in late 1994 by the Oriental and India Office Collections of the British Library.[1] This collection as a whole was catalogued and evaluated in Salomon, *Ancient Buddhist Scrolls from Gandhāra,* and three detailed studies of individual texts have recently been published in the Gandhāran Buddhist Texts series.[2]

The British Library scrolls were found inside a clay pot (fig. 6.1) bearing a dedicatory inscription in Kharoṣṭhī to "the Dharmaguptakas" (*dhamaüteaṇa parigrahami*). This pot was probably originally buried in the precincts of a Buddhist monastery whose exact location is unfortunately unknown, but which probably was in the region of Haḍḍa in Nangrahar Province of Afghanistan, near the border with Pakistan. A search of reports by explorers and archaeologists from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries revealed that a considerable number of apparently similar Kharoṣṭhī scrolls on birchbark had been discovered in comparable circumstances in jars and reliquaries from the Haḍḍa area. However, none of these manuscripts had been properly conserved and studied, and all of them seem to have been lost or destroyed.[3]

In several cases, human bones were also found buried in jars at Haḍḍa, and it is now clear that the interment of manuscripts in the same manner as human bones, possibly even together with them, was a common practice at Haḍḍa. Although the motivations for this are still not entirely clear, there is some textual and archaeological evidence to suggest that at least some of these manuscripts were worn out or "dead," and were thus accorded ritual burial honors in the same fashion as the ashes of deceased monks. It is also possible that intact manuscripts were sometimes interred together with human remains, perhaps those of their owners or scribes. Unfortunately, the remains in question are for the most part poorly documented, if at all, so that we are not yet able to make a definite determination of the character and intention of such manuscript burials.

Whatever may have been the motivation for this practice, it has had the fortunate effect of ensuring the preservation of the oldest surviving manuscripts from the Buddhist tradition. In any case, we now know that many – perhaps a great many – such texts were buried in this way, and although most of them have been lost or destroyed by mishandling, there is still a possibility

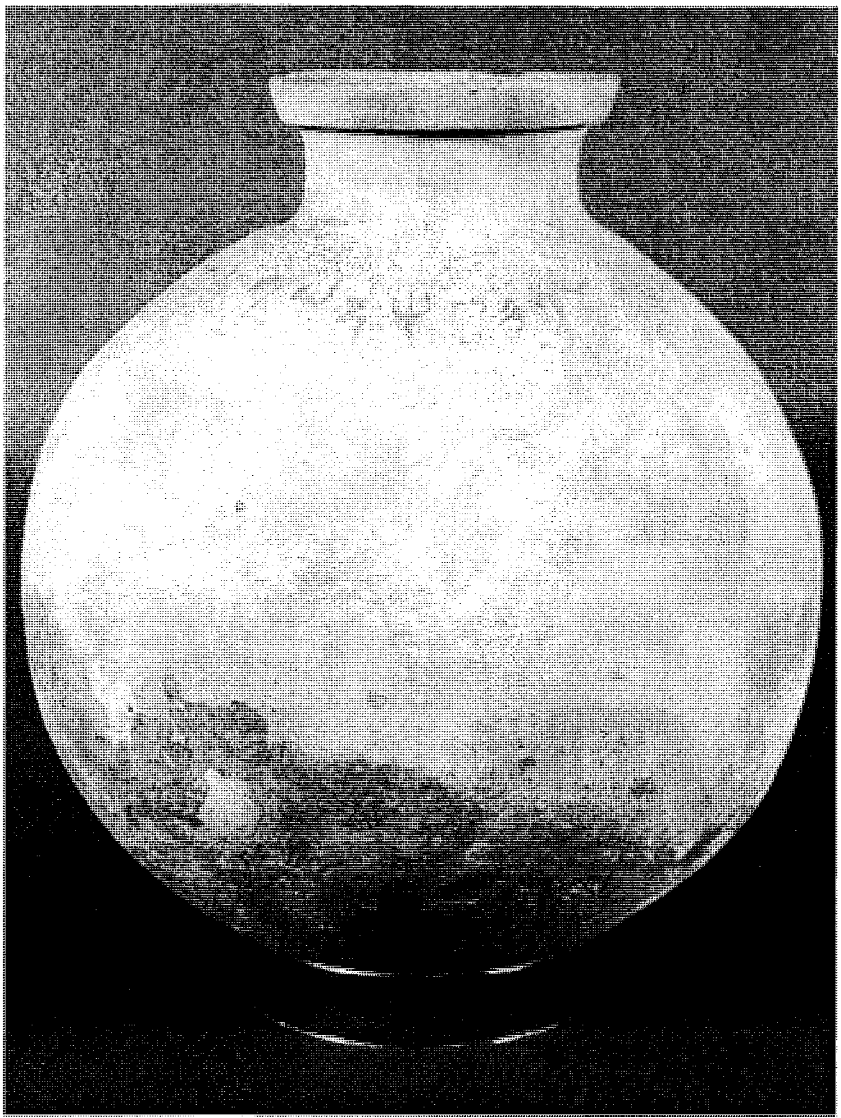


FIGURE 6.1. Inscribed clay pot in which the British Library scrolls were found. Courtesy British Library.

that materials of this kind may some day be discovered in the course of a proper archaeological excavation, in which case their value will be even greater than that of mere artifacts out of context.

The British Library scrolls are a very diverse collection in terms of size, condition, and contents. The twenty-nine fragments range from small and

nearly illegible scraps to large intact portions of scrolls with several hundred lines of relatively well preserved and mostly legible text. The contents of the collection are so varied that it is impossible to determine any common element among them, and they therefore seem to be a completely random selection of miscellaneous texts, perhaps of old manuscripts that had been recopied and discarded from a monastery library.[4] The more familiar genres represented in the collection include Gāndhārī versions of well-known sūtras such as the Rhinoceros sūtra[5] and the *Saṃgīti sūtra;*[6] poetic or didactic works such as the *Dharmapada* and *Anavatapta gāthā* (fig. 6.2; see note 2); and various technical, commentary, and *abhidharma* texts. There are also several extensive collections of short prose narratives that are labeled as *avadānas,* although for the most part their contents do not closely resemble *avadāna* literature as it has previously been known to us from Buddhist Sanskrit literature and other sources. Conspicuous by its absence is any representative of the *vinaya* literature.[7]

Although some familiar texts have been found in the collection, the majority of the manuscripts record texts for which no parallels have so far been located in any other Buddhist canon. This implies that the literature of Gandhāran Buddhism, at least in its formative stages, may have been quite different in its contents and structure from that of the more familiar Tripiṭakas of the Theravādin, Tibetan, and Chinese traditions. But only detailed studies in years to come will clarify the relationships of Gandhāran Buddhist literature to that of other, better-known traditions.

The British Library scrolls will also be of interest to historians of Gandhāra because they contain, in some of the aforementioned *avadāna* compilations, references to two contemporary Śaka rulers, the Great Satrap (*mahakṣatra[*pe]*) Jihonika and the commander (*stra[*tega]*) Aśpavarma.[8] Both of these persons, who were previously known from coins and inscriptions, ruled in the Gandhāra region in or around the first half of the first century CE. The references to them in the manuscripts thus provide us with a general chronological and cultural point of reference for these documents. Although the exact dating of the scrolls is a more complex and uncertain matter, the preponderance of evidence points toward the time of the aforementioned Śaka rulers, that is, in the earlier part of the first century CE.[9]

The fact that the British Library scrolls were found in a clay pot bearing an inscription recording its dedication to "the Dharmaguptakas" implies that the manuscripts themselves, or at least some of them, represent the textual traditions of this school. This assumption finds corroboration in the aforementioned *Saṃgīti sūtra* manuscript, which is one of the most extensive fragments in the collection, with some 365 lines preserved.[10] A preliminary study of the contents and arrangement of the Gāndhārī text of this important sūtra

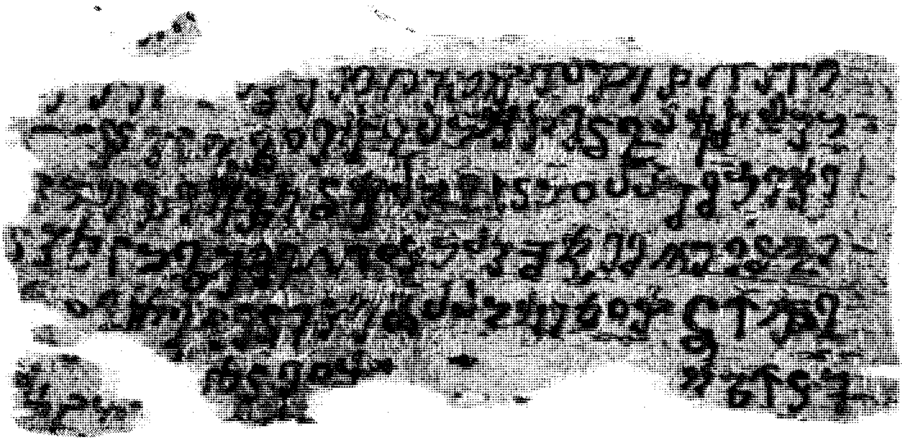


FIGURE 6.2. Sample of a British Library Kharoṣṭhī fragment, a portion of the *Anavataptagāthā* scroll (fragment 1, part 3, recto). Courtesy British Library.

in comparison with the other versions preserved in Pāli, Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Chinese has revealed that it has a very close correspondence to the version included in the Chinese *Dīrghāgama,* whereas it diverges extensively from all the other versions.[11] Given that the Chinese *Dīrghāgama* is generally agreed to be attributable to a Dharmaguptaka source, it seems likely that the very similar Gāndhārī *Saṃgīti sūtra* represents a Dharmaguptaka recension of the text, and this correspondence corroborates the circumstantial evidence of a Dharmaguptaka connection for the British Library scrolls.

The significance of this apparent Dharmaguptaka affiliation is enhanced by recent discoveries of at least a dozen new Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions from about the same region and period that record donations to the Dharmaguptakas.[12] This convergence of data has led me to hypothesize a previously unknown phase in the earlier history of Gandhāran Buddhism, in which the Dharmaguptakas were a dominant school enjoying the patronage of the Śaka (or Indo-Scythian) kings and satraps, only to be overshadowed later on by the Sarvāstivādins under the auspices of the Kuṣāṇa kings, particularly Kaniṣka.[13] This in turn may be linked to the influential role that the Dharmaguptaka school seems to have played in the early stages of the propagation of Buddhism in China. Whether this theory will stand the test of time and of future discoveries remains, of course, to be seen, but at least the new manuscripts have already enabled us to test new hypotheses that previously could hardly have been formulated.

The Senior Scrolls

A second set of Gandhāran manuscripts consists of 24 birchbark scrolls in the private collection of Robert Senior of Butleigh, Glastonbury, U.K.[14] Like the British Library scrolls, this group was found in a clay jar bearing a Kharoṣṭhī inscription. But this inscription, unlike the one on the British Library pot, bears a date, "in the year twelve" (*[sa]ba[tsa]ra [ba](*ḍa)[śa](*mi)*). Although the era of the date is not specified, its formulation strongly suggests that it is a year of the Kaniṣka era.[15] This means that the pot was dedicated in the late first or early to mid-second century CE (depending on which chronology one prefers for the Kaniṣka era), and as the manuscripts seem to have been in good condition when they were interred, they are probably not too much older than this. Therefore the Senior scrolls are somewhat later than the British Library scrolls, which probably date from the earlier part of the first century CE. As in the case of the British Library scrolls, the find spot of the Senior collection is not known with certainty, but it is likely to have also come from Haḍḍa or the surrounding area.

Although the Senior scrolls generally resemble the British Library manuscripts in their format, language, and script, they also differ from them in several respects. Most importantly, the Senior collection is as unitary and consistent as the British Library collection is diverse. Whereas the latter consists of a miscellany of texts of various genres and styles written by some twenty-one different scribes,[16] the Senior scrolls are all written in the same hand, and all or nearly all of the texts recorded in them are sūtras. To date, only about ten of these sūtras have been identified, most of them corresponding to texts that occur in the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* of the Pāli canon and/or the *Za ahan jing* (*Saṃyuktāgama*) of the Chinese canon. Two notable exceptions to this pattern, however, are the texts of the *Sāmaññaphala sutta/Śrāmaṇyaphala sūtra* (Senior scroll 2), which is a *Dīghanikāya/Dīrghāgama sūtra,* and of the *Cūḷagosiṅga sutta* (Senior scroll 12), which belongs to the Majjhimanikāya/Madhyamāgama.

Thus the Senior collection evidently constitutes a systematic grouping of sūtras, though the rationale of the collection remains unclear. Clues to understanding its contents and arrangement may lie in the anomalous scroll 8, which seems to be a sort of table of contents, containing key words or phrases referring to some, though not all, of the sūtras written on the other scrolls. At the current, very preliminary state of the study of the Senior collection, a reasonable working hypothesis is that it comprises an anthology of sūtras that were felt to embody the major principles of the Buddhist dharma. While it remains to be seen whether this hypothesis will stand the test of further research, the Senior collection will present a helpful basis for comparison and

contrast with the British Library scrolls, and in due course each one will undoubtedly help to elucidate the others.

The Schøyen Kharoṣṭhī Fragments

The manuscript collection of Martin Schøyen in Spikkestad, Norway, includes several thousand fragments of Buddhist manuscripts reported to have come from the area of Bāmiyān, Afghanistan, and which, on the basis of paleographic analysis, seem to span a period from about the second to the seventh centuries CE. Although the great majority of these texts are written in Sanskrit and in various Brāhmī-derived scripts, there are some 250 fragments of palm-leaf manuscripts in Kharoṣṭhī script. These fragments presumably belong to the earlier phase of the group as a whole, representing an old Gandhāran tradition before the Brāhmī script gradually displaced Kharoṣṭhī (see the following section on Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts in the Pelliot collection).[17]

Although many of the Schøyen Kharoṣṭhī fragments are very small, containing only a few words or even just a few syllables, and although only a very few of them preserve even as much as half of an original folio, still the collection as a whole comprises a substantial body of material that promises to be of great significance for the study of Kharoṣṭhī manuscript tradition and of Gandhāran Buddhist literature. The preliminary studies so far have shown that many of these small fragments belong to the same original manuscripts, although research has not yet progressed to the point that we can estimate how many original manuscripts are involved. Several distinctive and easily recognizable hands are represented by a dozen or more fragments, which in some cases, however, seem to be fragments of different texts written by the same scribe. Several of the fragments have numerals in the right margin, no doubt representing folio numbers, and some of these numbers are quite large, showing that the manuscripts from which they came were long. For instance, fragment 1 has a folio number that seems to read 187, but that may be incomplete and hence could have been part of an even larger number, for example 287. Thus we can see that these small fragments represent a tiny fraction of what must have been a voluminous corpus of Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts.

The hands involved are quite diverse, but generally show the characteristic features of Kharoṣṭhī script of the later period, that is, of the time of the Great Kuṣāṇas and their successors. Some of the hands are rather unusual, showing what seem to be highly cursivized forms of certain letters that have not been previously noticed in other Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts or inscriptions. These paleographic features point to a later date for the Schøyen fragments than that of the British Library scrolls, and this impression is confirmed by their language, which is generally more homogeneous than the writing style. They are

mostly written in a Sanskritized variety of Gāndhārī, of which typical specimens are phrases such as *saṃkārasaṃjña vibhāvaïtva* (= Sanskrit *saṃskāra-saṃjñāṃ vibhāvya* / ordinary Gāndhārī *saṃkārasaña vibhavaïtva*) and *(yo)ni vāṣṭhamaga* (= *yonir vāṣṭamakā* / *yoni va aṭhamaga*) (fragment 42-B).

There are very few incipient traces of this kind of Sanskritization among the British Library fragments, which are for the most part in un-Sanskritized Gāndhārī. Many of them, such as the Rhinoceros sūtra and the *Anavatapta gāthā,* are influenced by the midland Prakrit, which must have been the language of the archetype text from which they were translated into Gāndhārī, rather than Sanskrit.[18] The Schøyen fragments, on the contrary, show a pronounced tendency toward Sanskritization, or rather hybridization, which, along with their more developed paleographic characteristics, suggests a dating about a century or more after the British Library scrolls, that is, in the second or perhaps the early third century CE. This is corroborated by the similarities between the Sanskritized Gāndhārī of the Schøyen Kharoṣṭhī fragments and the Sanskritized language of some of the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions of the time of Kaniṣka and his successors.[19] The fact that the Schøyen manuscripts are written in *poṭhī* fashion on separate palm-leaf folios rather than in scroll format on birchbark like the ones in the British Library collection may be another indication of their relatively later date, since the scroll format seems to have gradually fallen out of use, perhaps because scribes came to realize that birch bark, which becomes very brittle with age, is poorly suited for the construction of scrolls. However, we do now know of at least one example of a fairly late bark scroll from Haḍḍa (see the following section), which suggests that regional preferences may also have played a part in the different formats. This provisional but fairly secure relative dating enables us to set up a reasonably clear developmental sequence among Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts in regard to their linguistic, paleographic, and codicological features, as briefly sketched above. Eventually this sequence should also allow us to trace textual and doctrinal developments.

To date, however, only one of the Kharoṣṭhī texts in the Schøyen collection has been positively identified. This is a version of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa sūtra,* represented by seven fragments. The version of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa sūtra* preserved in these fragments is distinct from all the other known recensions of the text in Pāli, Sanskrit, Chinese, and Tibetan.[20] It has not yet been possible to determine its sectarian affiliation, although there are some indications that some of the Schøyen Brāhmī manuscripts may belong to the Mahāsāṁghika-Lokottaravādin tradition. As the affiliation(s) of the Schøyen fragments become clearer, here too it should be possible to find important new information about the sectarian and doctrinal history of Buddhism in Gandhāra and the adjoining regions that were under its cultural influence.

Most of the Schøyen Kharoṣṭhī fragments appear to be sūtra texts, *abhidharma* or other technical treatises, and poetic compositions. The fact that none of them has yet been positively identified is probably only a function of the still very preliminary stage of research on them, and it can certainly be expected that some will eventually prove to be identifiable with previously known texts.

Kharoṣṭhī Manuscripts in the Pelliot Collection

The Pelliot collection of Central Asian artifacts in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France includes eight small fragments of palm-leaf manuscripts, written in Kharoṣṭhī, which were found in the region of Kucha on the northern rim of the Tarim Basin in Xinjiang.[21] The largest and most interesting of these fragments (no. 1), with four partial lines of text on each side, is written not in Gāndhārī or even in Sanskritized Gāndhārī like that of the Schøyen fragments, but in more or less standard Sanskrit. The text is as yet unidentified, though it seems to be part of a *jātaka* or *avadāna* story, or a text of some similar narrative genre. Although a very few examples of Sanskrit texts, or passages in Sanskrit within Gāndhārī texts,[22] have previously been found in Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions and in wooden documents from Xinjiang, this is the first known example of an ordinary Sanskrit manuscript written in Kharoṣṭhī script. This discovery permits us to imagine a Buddhist monastic culture in the oases of the northern Silk Road, which, under Gāndhāran influence, used Kharoṣṭhī script to write Buddhist Sanskrit texts. Although specimens of this practice remain very rare, it would not be at all surprising if further examples of Sanskrit texts written in Kharoṣṭhī turn up in the future.

The seven other Pelliot Kharoṣṭhī fragments are very small, so it is not easy to be sure of their contents, and sometimes even of their language. Several of them are apparently written in a Sanskritized Gāndhārī similar to that of the Schøyen manuscripts, but one (no. 8) contains a technical discourse in what seems to be pure, non-Sanskritized Gāndhārī. This fragment also is written in a slightly more archaic script, and in general seems to represent a somewhat earlier stratum of texts than the others. While the other Pelliot Kharoṣṭhī documents are probably about contemporary with the Schøyen Kharoṣṭhī fragments – that is, from about the second or third century CE – no. 8 might be as old as the early second or even, conceivably, the late first century.

Scanty as the evidence is from these eight small fragments, it is sufficient to reveal some interesting points about the literary culture of this Central Asian outpost of Greater Gandhāra, that is, of the cultural region that can be defined by the use of the Kharoṣṭhī script and the Gāndhārī language. For example, the presence of specimens of pure Gāndhārī, Sanskritized Gāndhārī, and standard Sanskrit among these meager fragments points toward a linguistic

process that is parallel to what is now well attested for other parts of Greater Gandhāra, whereby Gāndhārī became gradually more Sanskritized, as illustrated by the Schøyen manuscripts, and eventually surrendered its role as a Buddhist literary language to Sanskrit.[23]

The picture that the Pelliot fragments provide of a Buddhist culture in the northern Tarim Basin using Kharoṣṭhī as its primary script are of further interest in connection with the long-standing issue of the source language of early Chinese translations of Buddhist texts. According to those who espouse what Boucher appropriately refers to as the "Gāndhārī hypothesis,"[24] certain features of the early Chinese translations, particularly their transliterations of Indic proper names, suggest that the Indian source texts were written not in Sanskrit or some midland Prakrit dialect, but in Gāndhārī. However, this new Central Asian material shows us that we should not assume, even if the Gāndhārī hypothesis is essentially correct, that the archetypes of the Chinese translation were in Gāndhārī pure and simple. For it is now evident that such archetype texts, though probably written in Kharoṣṭhī script, could have been in Sanskrit, or Gāndhārī, or something in between the two, and this dialectal diversity may help to explain the troublesome inconsistency in the attestation of "Gāndhāricisms" in the Chinese texts. These issues will have to be worked out in the future, from both the Indic and the Chinese sides. But what is already clear is that Kharoṣṭhī documents of the type represented in the Pelliot collection and probably also in the Schøyen fragments provide us for the first time with actual specimens of texts that are likely to be very similar to those that were available to the early Chinese translators.

Conclusions

Although this study has concentrated on manuscripts in Kharoṣṭhī script as emblematic of Gandhāran Buddhist culture par excellence, the topic of this chapter properly embraces Brāhmī texts as well. For although Kharoṣṭhī was the dominant script in what can be characterized as the classical era of Gandhāran Buddhism, during the third and fourth centuries CE Brāhmī script, and with it the Sanskrit language, gradually began to supplant Kharoṣṭhī and Gāndhārī. Even the earliest collection of Gandhāran manuscripts discussed in this article, the British Library scrolls, contains one isolated specimen of a Brāhmī/Sanskrit text.[25] A few examples of later Gandhāran Brāhmī manuscripts have also come to light, including the birchbark texts found at the Jauliāñ and Dharmarājikā sites in the course of the Taxila excavations,[26] which have been dated on paleographic grounds to about the fifth century CE. Another similar text was purchased near Haḍḍa by a private party in 1964. This manuscript, which seems to contain a version of the *pratītya-samutpāda* formula, resembles the Taxila manuscripts in script and language, but it seems

to have been a birchbark scroll, whereas the Taxila manuscripts were apparently *poṭhīs*.

Although still few, these specimens are enough to confirm that by around the fifth century CE Brāhmī had completely supplanted Kharoṣṭhī as the script of Buddhist scholarship in Gandhāra proper and in the directly adjoining regions. The discovery of a manuscript of this type at Haḍḍa further implies that that city continued to be a centre of scholarship and manuscript production at least into the fifth century.

The very large number of Brāhmī manuscripts in the Schøyen collection shows that similar developments took place in the Bāmiyān area. The Schøyen collection includes some fragments in early styles of Brāhmī, attributable to the Kuṣāṇa era, which suggests that in the earlier period Kharoṣṭhī and Brāhmī were being used side by side. But by about the third century CE, at a rough estimate, Kharoṣṭhī seems to have fallen out of use there too, as in Gandhāra proper. Thus, with the adoption of the Brāhmī script and Sanskrit language, from around the third century the Gandhāran Buddhist literary tradition lost, at least superficially, its distinctive character, though it remains to be seen whether detailed analysis of the contents of the Gandhāran Brāhmī texts will confirm or perhaps disprove this impression.

In conclusion, it would be appropriate to say a few words here about the relationship of the new manuscript evidence to the picture of Gandhāran Buddhism that we have derived from more traditional, primarily archaeological sources. Unfortunately, at this still-preliminary stage of the study of the documents, no clear connections have yet been drawn between the newly recovered literary tradition and the visual arts of Gandhāra. For instance, the largely unfamiliar narratives in the British Library *avadāna* texts, discussed briefly in the first part of the section above on recent discoveries, do not seem, as one might have hoped, to have any relationship to or counterpart in Gandhāran narrative sculpture, which generally reflects more familiar mainstream traditions such as the past and final lives of the Buddha. Thus we get the impression – and it may yet turn out to be only an impression – that the two traditions, literary and artistic, were living side by side but on separate planes.

Obviously, this is a superficial but, for the time being, unavoidable way of looking at the matter. In reality, the art and the texts did come from the same world, or at least from different departments of the same world, and I hope that eventually we will be able to unite or at least reconcile them. It is possible, for instance, that some of the new textual material such as the *avadānas* may eventually clarify problems in the interpretation of Gandhāran narrative sculpture, or vice versa.

In any case, one of the results of these discoveries that can be safely predicted is that philological and textual scholarship will have a higher profile in

Gandhāran studies in the future than it has had in the recent past. However, the greatest challenge will be to fit together and reconcile what is already known and what will be discovered by archaeologists in the future with the data that are now being collected from the newly found texts. This will not be easy, and we should not expect the two approaches to fit together neatly, or to illuminate each other in any simple or direct manner. Only time will tell exactly where all this will lead us, but however things may work out, we can be quite sure that the years to come will be exciting ones in the field of Gandhāran Buddhist studies.

Notes

This is an abbreviated and revised version of the paper entitled "New Manuscript and Epigraphic Sources for the Study of Gandhāran Buddhism," which was presented at the conference Gandhāran Buddhism: An Interdisciplinary Approach, held at McMaster University, May 9, 1999. The several new inscriptions briefly described in that lecture will be the subject of detailed studies in future publications, and thus are not included in this chapter, which is intended to give an overall survey and preliminary analysis of the numerous recent discoveries of manuscript materials, including texts from Gandhāra proper as well as from other regions of South and Central Asia that were within the Gandhāran sphere of cultural influence.

1 Because the British Library scrolls have been discussed in detail in the various publications cited below, particularly in Salomon, *Ancient Buddhist Scrolls from Gandhāra*, only a general description of the materials and a summary of the results of their study to date are presented here, with an emphasis on their relationship to broader issues in the study of Gandhāran Buddhism and to other disciplinary approaches to this field.

2 Salomon, *Gāndhārī Version of the Rhinoceros Sūtra;* Allon, *Three Gāndhārī Ekottarikāgama-Type Sūtra;* Lenz, *New Version of the Gāndhārī Dharmapada.* Three more text editions are being prepared by members of the British Library and University of Washington Early Buddhist Manuscripts Project for publication in the Gandhāran Buddhist Texts series. These are: (1) a previously unknown *abhidharma* treatise (British Library fragment 28), by Collett Cox; (2) an edition of the *Anavatapta gāthā* scroll (British Library fragment 1), by Richard Salomon; and (3) two groups of *avadānas,* by Timothy Lenz and Jason Neelis.

3 Salomon, *Ancient Buddhist Scrolls from Gandhāra*, 59–65.

4 Ibid., 69–84.

5 Salomon, *Gāndhārī Version of the Rhinoceros Sūtra.*

6 Salomon, *Ancient Buddhist Scrolls from Gandhāra,* 24–49.

7 Ibid., 163–65.

8 Ibid., 141–51.

9 As discussed in ibid., 151–55.

10 Ibid., 49.

11 Ibid., 171–73.

12 Ibid., 175–76.

13 Ibid., 176–80.

14 Salomon, "The Senior Manuscripts."

15 The details of the date and its interpretation are discussed in detail in Salomon, ibid.

16 Salomon, *Ancient Buddhist Scrolls from Gandhāra,* 54–55.

17 Some of the Schøyen Kharoṣṭhī fragments have been published in Allon and Salomon, "Kharoṣṭhī Fragments of a Gāndhārī Version of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa sūtra*," and the remainder will be published in future volumes of the series Manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection.
18 Salomon, *Gāndhārī Version of the Rhinoceros Sūtra*, 48–52.
19 Compare, for example, *sarvasatvanaṃ hitasukhaya bhavatu* in the Sui Vihār copperplate inscription of the eleventh year of Kaniṣka in Konow, *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions*, 141.
20 Allon and Salomon, "Kharoṣṭhī Fragments of a Gāndhārī Version of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa sūtra*."
21 Salomon, "Kharoṣṭhī Manuscript Fragments in the Pelliot Collection."
22 For example, the passage from the Sui Vihār inscription cited in note 19.
23 Salomon, "Gāndhārī Hybrid Sanskrit."
24 Boucher, "Gāndhārī and the Early Chinese Translations Reconsidered," 473.
25 Salomon, *Ancient Buddhist Scrolls from Gandhāra*, 39.
26 Marshall, *Taxila*, 287–88, 387.

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PART III: Art

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7 Bodhisattvas in Gandhāran Art: An Aspect of Mahāyāna in Gandhāran Buddhism

JUHYUNG RHI

The existence of Mahāyāna in Gandhāran Buddhism and its art has presented intriguing questions both to Buddhist scholars and to art historians. While many scholars have presumed that Gandhāra, or the northwestern part of the Indian subcontinent, was a region that played a critical role in the emergence of Mahāyāna in Indian Buddhism, they have been simultaneously faced with the paucity of tangible evidence to support this understanding.[1] The testimony by the Chinese pilgrim Faxian that most people in the region were practicing Hīnayāna, not Mahāyāna, also provides a basis for skepticism among some scholars.[2] Those who are familiar with sculptural material, however, have seen elements in Gandhāran art that must be relatable to Mahāyāna, no matter what form its followers took as a social entity.[3] All of the complex aspects of this issue cannot be reviewed here; instead, the focus will be on how bodhisattvas were represented in Gandhāran art.

The ideal of the bodhisattva is generally considered one of the central features of Mahāyāna Buddhism.[4] Although the word *bodhisattva* originated in the pre-Mahāyāna tradition, it gained particular importance with the rise of Mahāyānists and their scriptures, not only as a general ideal, but also as referring to a class of venerated deities. Numerous bodhisattvas, besides those in the pre-enlightenment stage of *māṇuṣi-buddhas* who are also mentioned in non-Mahāyānic contexts, were mentioned in the Mahāyāna literature, and some of them were worshipped and represented in visual form wherever Mahāyāna Buddhism spread.

In Gandhāran art, bodhisattvas commonly appear as cult images or in the reliefs showing complex scenes, particularly in later periods, and they display diverse iconographic forms that apparently signify the multiplicity of their identity. Compared with their representations in other important regions of early Buddhist art in India, such as Mathurā, Āndhra, and the Western Deccan, representations of bodhisattvas in Gandhāran art are much more conspicuous in number and variety, and they constitute a prominent feature in Gandhāran

Buddhism. For this reason, a search for bodhisattvas within Mahāyāna contexts in Gandhāran art could be a useful starting point.[5] The questions addressed in this chapter are straightforward, although answering them may not be simple. They are: How many different types of bodhisattvas were represented in Gandhāran art? What kinds of patterns emerge in these types? What are their connections with the presence of Mahāyāna in Gandhāran Buddhism?[6]

Among a variety of bodhisattvas represented in Gandhāran art, three prominent types emerge. A relief in the Taxila museum includes standing examples of these three types along with Buddhas (figs. 7.1, 7.2).[7] Bodhisattva and Buddha figures alternate, and each bodhisattva appears to form a pair with the Buddha next to him. The one on the far left, with knotted hair and holding a water vase, is a typical example of the bodhisattva Maitreya (who is destined to attain Buddhahood in the future); his image appears consistently in scenes of the seven Buddhas of the past.[8] Although the significance of the characteristic hair and water vase, or *kamaṇḍalu,* still needs a satisfactory answer, it is often attributed to the account that Maitreya came from a *brahmāṇa* family.[9] The Buddha next to him must, then, be one closely related to the bodhisattva Maitreya, most probably Maitreya in fully enlightened form.

The bodhisattva in the centre, wearing a turban and with his left hand placed on his waist, is commonly identified as the bodhisattva Siddhārtha in the appearance of a prince. The similarity of this figure to some found in narrative scenes from the life of Śākyamuni Buddha has been pointed out by Miyaji.[10] Several episodes, such as the Marriage and the Resolution for the Great Departure, present the prince Siddhārtha in an identical manner.[11] The male figure in this form has precedents in earlier Buddhist art, such as the *yakṣa dvārapālas* on the gate pillars of the main stūpa at Sāñcī,[12] but it seems to have been adopted as a conventional representation for Siddhārtha as a prince in Gandhāran narrative scenes.[13] In the Taxila relief, the turbaned male of this type is positioned at the centre to show his primary importance. It is also noteworthy that the Buddha in the corresponding pair is the only one in an active posture, with the right hand in *abhayamudrā;* this figure possibly is to be identified as Śākyamuni, the closest in time to the Buddhists of Gandhāra. The two types of bodhisattvas discussed above, if they can be identified as Maitreya and Siddhārtha, are obviously not exclusive to the Mahāyāna cult, even though they could have been worshipped in a Mahāyāna context.

The identification of a third type, on the far right, wearing a turban and holding a wreath, is more problematic. Its position and relationship to the corresponding Buddha in its pair make it obvious that this figure also represents a bodhisattva. Who, then, is this third bodhisattva? It would not be entirely out of the question to consider that this figure, together with its

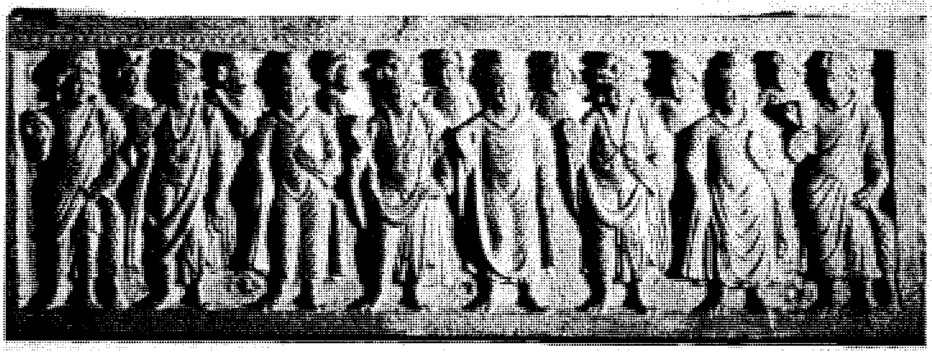


FIGURE 7.1. Relief showing alternating Buddhas and bodhisattvas. Taxila Museum (after Miyaji, "Gandāra no sanzon keishiki no ryô kyôji bosatsu no zuzô," fig. 120).

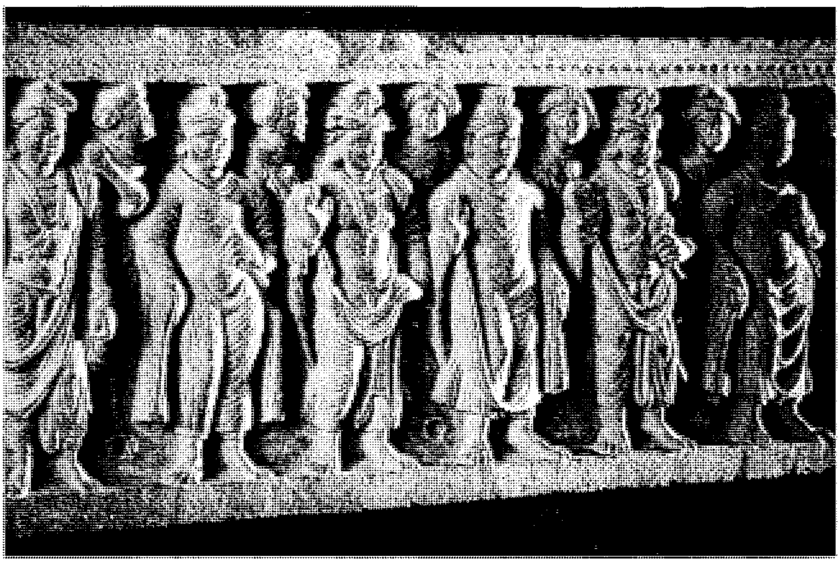


FIGURE 7.2. Detail of Figure 7.1, showing three pairs of Buddhas and bodhisattvas (after Ingholt, pl. I-11).

paired Buddha, represents one of the well-known Buddhas from the past, such as Dipaṇkara or Kāśyapa, as a Buddha and a bodhisattva. Dipaṇkara and Kāśyapa are the only two Buddhas, other than Śākyamuni and Maitreya, recorded in extant inscriptional evidence on Gandhāran art.[14] One has to note, however, that this third bodhisattva type, the wreath-bearer, is also seen in larger statues and therefore must have been someone who had greater importance as an object of veneration. It seems hardly likely that the bodhisattva Kāśyapa or Dipaṇkara was worshipped using cult statues on such a scale, and

thus an alternative should be sought among those who would have been more prominent in the contemporaneous cult practice. The wreath-bearing bodhisattva has often been identified as Avalokiteśvara, unquestionably the most popular bodhisattva in the Mahāyāna world, who could have been worshipped in Gandhāra as well.[15] The wreath in the left hand has been interpreted as interchangeable with a lotus, the distinctive attribute of Avalokiteśvara in later Indian art and in early Chinese Buddhist art.[16]

If we accept this view and identify the bodhisattva in the third pair as Avalokiteśvara, the identity of the Buddha next to him presents a question. It could be Amitābha, who is traditionally associated with Avalokiteśvara. The relationship between Avalokiteśvara and Amitābha in this pair is obviously different from the one in the other two pairs, because Amitābha prior to enlightenment was the *bhikṣu* Dharmākara, not Avalokiteśvara. However, Avalokiteśvara, who would become a Buddha and preside over the Western Pure Land after the final nirvāṇa of Amitābha, was commonly regarded as the emanation and thus the spiritual son of Amitābha Buddha. He was already referred to as *buddhasuta* (son of the Buddha) in the *Larger Sukhāvatī vyūha,*[17] long before this relationship was codified elaborately in Vajrayāna Buddhist iconography. So it is possible that the inseparable tie between these two deities was already recognized in this period. Amitābha is said to have appeared in the world many *kalpas* before Śākyamuni;[18] therefore, he could theoretically be regarded as one of the past Buddhas, although still living, at an inestimable age, in the Western Pure Land. These three pairs, then, can be read as the Buddhas and bodhisattvas from the past, present, and future who have delivered or will deliver the dharma to sentient beings at different moments and in different modes.

The three bodhisattva types discussed above, Maitreya, Siddhārtha, and the wreath bearer, were predominantly employed for independent statues. Among standing bodhisattva statues, we find numerous Maitreya images of the first type, which make up by far the largest number of Gandhāran bodhisattvas. The majority of them have knotted hair arranged with a ringlet (fig. 7.3). A slightly different hairstyle with *jaṭāmukuṭa* is also present; it appears to be a modified subtype within the same category.[19] The second typological group, supposedly meant to represent Siddhārtha, is much rarer, although we have a fine example in the so-called "Foucher bodhisattva" in the Musée Guimet, Paris (fig. 7.4). The third type, holding a wreath, is also rare, and extant examples are invariably of inferior quality and have rather decadent features (fig. 7.5). One is tempted to suggest that this type, or possibly Avalokiteśvara with these iconographic features, appeared in Gandhāran art at a relatively late date.

Standing statues of bodhisattvas in Gandhāra were invariably one of these three types. A bodhisattva, allegedly Maitreya, in a private collection in Japan wears a turban but holds a water vase; this would have been an intriguing exception, but it turned out to be a forgery, made of many disparate parts.[20]



FIGURE 7.3. Bodhisattva Maitreya. Sikri. Lahore Museum (author's photograph).



FIGURE 7.4. Bodhisattva Siddhārtha. Shabaz-Garhi. Musée Guimet, Paris (after Kurita, vol. 2, pl. 7).

These three basic types can be seen also in seated bodhisattva images, which exhibit more variety, owing to modifications and insertion of new elements. One of these types is a seated bodhisattva with a water vase, usually held in the hands but occasionally carved on the pedestal.[21] Such figures could be regarded as seated Maitreyas, corresponding to the first type of the standing images. There are, however, some instances of a bodhisattva having the same



FIGURE 7.5. Bodhisattva, possibly Avalokiteśvara. Los Angeles County Museum (after Pal, pl. S45).

characteristic hair and exhibiting the preaching gesture, but without a water vase;[22] one wonders whether this figure should be regarded as an extension of the seated Maitreya type or as a new iconographic invention for yet another bodhisattva.[23]

The statue of the prince in the First Meditation in the Peshawar Museum (fig. 7.6) is a representative example of the seated Siddhārtha image. The

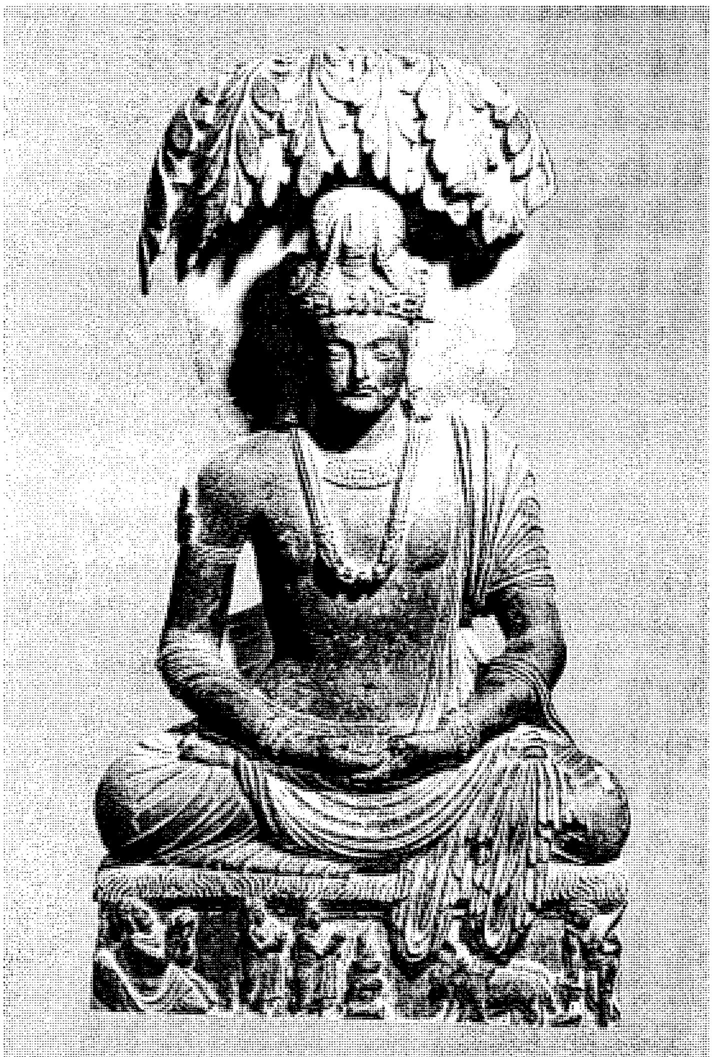


FIGURE 7.6 Bodhisattva Siddhārtha in the First Meditation. Sahrī-Bahlol mound C. Peshawar Museum (after Kurita, vol. 1, pl. 131).

identity of the Peshawar image is indicated by a plowing scene carved on the pedestal, but identification of other bodhisattva images wearing turbans but with no other readable iconographic signs remains unresolved.[24]

Seated equivalents for the third standing type, supposedly Avalokiteśvara, are found among seated images that hold a wreath or lotus. These bodhisattvas invariably wear a turban, and, interestingly, most hold a lotus flower or bud instead of a wreath (fig. 7.7).[25] This discrepancy, not easily explicable, presents



FIGURE 7.7. Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara holding a lotus. Loriyān Tāṅgai. Indian Museum, Calcutta (author's photograph).

many questions. Should the wreath and lotus be indeed equated as iconographic signs for the same deity? If so, what is the reason for the replacement of a wreath with a lotus in seated images? Or does the seated type with a lotus represent yet another, possibly a fourth, bodhisattva?[26]

The bodhisattvas of this category are usually seated in *paryaṅkāsana* or the ordinary cross-legged pose. But there are quite a few examples of bodhisattvas seated on a stool in the pensive pose, one foot resting on the opposite leg,



FIGURE 7.8. Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara in pensive pose. Matsuoka Museum, Tokyo (after Takata, 1967, pl. 43).

which hangs off the stool (fig. 7.8). The essential similarity in iconographic attributes with Avalokiteśvara images among the Kashmir bronzes is quite remarkable.[27] We also recall that this pose was used for the prince Siddhārtha in a narrative relief panel, now in the Lahore Museum, depicting the First Meditation.[28] If the occurrence of this pose in narrative context preceded that of the independent statues, we may suppose that this position, initially



FIGURE 7.9. Bodhisattva holding a book, Māñjuśrī(?). Musée Guimet, Paris (author's photograph).

used for Siddhārtha, came to be extended to other bodhisattvas and in particular to those holding a lotus, tentatively identified as Avalokiteśvara.[29] Some bodhisattva figures in this pose may also hold a book, probably of scriptures, instead of the usual lotus or wreath (fig. 7.9), and it is possible that they were intended as representations of yet another bodhisattva.

Bodhisattvas wearing turbans are also depicted in the crossed-ankle pose, with both legs hanging off the stool and crossed at the ankles. Some of them hold a lotus and thus fall within the Avalokiteśvara category, like the preceding pensive group,[30] but many display the preaching gesture without any further iconographic signs.[31] Another example, a stele in the Chandigarh Museum, shows a bodhisattva of this latter type in an elaborately designed architectural surrounding, as its central deity (fig. 7.10). In this example, on each side of the bodhisattva is a narrative scene from the Buddha's life: the one on the right is the Offering of Dust by a child, a previous incarnation of



FIGURE 7.10. Crossed-ankle bodhisattva inside a shrine. Art Gallery and Museum, Chandigarh. Courtesy AIIS.

King Aśoka, and the one on the left is the Display of the Snake Bowl to Uruvilvā Kāśyapa. If these scenes and the bodhisattva in the centre are connected, the bodhisattva should be someone closely related to Śākyamuni Buddha, such as one of his previous incarnations, the prince Siddhārtha or the bodhisattva in Tuṣita Heaven. In any case, it is clear that neither the crossed-

ankle nor the pensive pose was used exclusively for any particular bodhisattva in Gandhāran Buddhist iconography.

Turbaned bodhisattva statues occasionally have small figurines on the medallion of the headdress; these might have been used as additional iconographic signs, and they often include a small Buddha or Garuḍa carrying a *nāga* or *nāginī*. There are several examples in which such figurines remain on the headdress and several more where the medallions have become detached. Some bodhisattva statues also have a small projection in front of the headdress for attaching small medallions, so such figurines could have been quite common elements in turbaned bodhisattva statues.

The motif of Garuḍa carrying a *nāga* or *nāginī* (fig. 7.11) is generally believed to be related to the Greek myth of the abduction of Ganymede by Zeus in the form of a gigantic eagle. Although this theme appears widely in ancient art throughout west and south Asia and has been interpreted in various ways, its significance in the context of the bodhisattva's headdress remains obscure.[32] Alexander Soper suggested that it signified Avalokiteśvara's special position as the bearer of souls to Sukhāvatī, but this interpretation is no more than a speculative suggestion for justifying a preconceived identification, and there seems no particular reason to connect it to Avalokiteśvara.[33] We should note that this motif is shown on the headdress of the famous "Foucher bodhisattva" (fig. 7.4), which we identify on the basis of typology as the prince Siddhārtha. So it may well have been the iconographic sign of Siddhārtha – or it may have been used there with a generic religious meaning, not as an iconographic signifier.

A small Buddha in the headdress is a well-known symbol for Avalokiteśvara in Indian Buddhist art, at least from the Gupta period onward. It is also widely adopted for Avalokiteśvara images in east Asia, and many scholars have presumed that the tradition had its origin in early Indian Buddhist art. A bodhisattva figure in the Peshawar Museum of the third standing type, that is, holding a wreath, bears a small Buddha in the preaching gesture on its headdress (fig. 7.12), and this may justify using the small Buddha as a sign for Avalokiteśvara. One should note, however, that a bodhisattva standing on the right side of a Buddha triad in the Claude de Marteau collection that would be classified as the second standing type (Siddhārtha) by the hand gesture also has a small Buddha on its headdress.[34] Furthermore, the presence of a Buddha in the headdress as a distinctive iconographic indicator for Avalokiteśvara was not an established phenomenon even in early Chinese Buddhist art, as is conventionally presumed. During the fifth and sixth centuries CE in China, it was Maitreya seated in the crossed-ankle pose (possibly in the Tuṣita Heaven), not Avalokiteśvara, that commonly had a Buddha in the headdress.[35] Therefore,

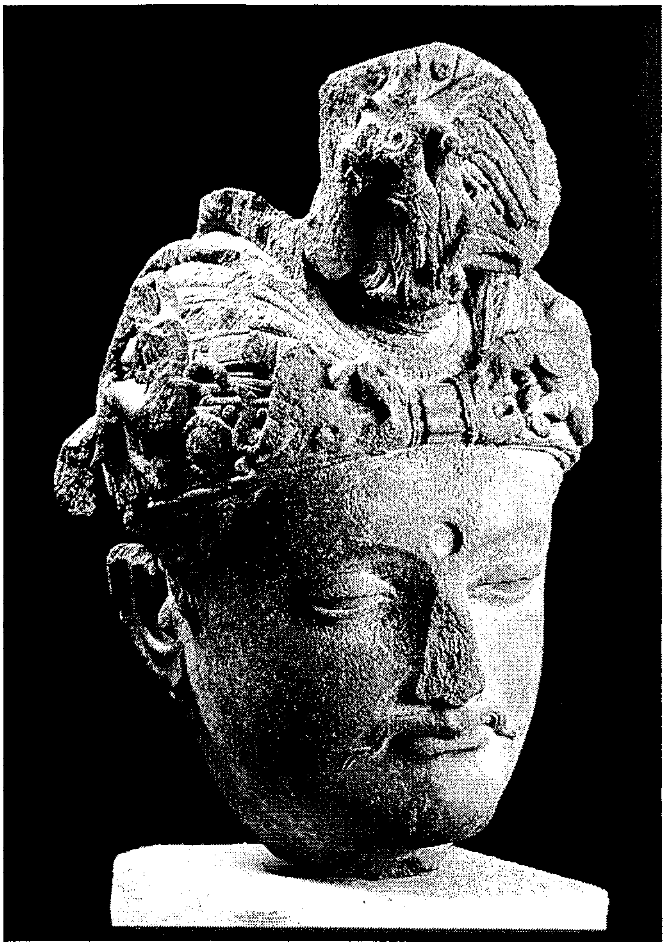


FIGURE 7.11. Bodhisattva head. Lahore Museum (after Ingholt, pl. I-4).

there seems little reason to suppose that the tradition already existed in Gandhāra. The Buddha in the headdress may well have served as a general sign indicating that the bodhisattva is in the stage of *ekajātipratibuddha*, or destined to become a Buddha very soon, and could have been used for any bodhisattva at this stage, including Siddhārtha or Avalokiteśvara.

Besides a small Buddha image or Garuḍa carrying a *nāga* or *nāginī*, several other motifs appear on the headdress, such as a figure holding a garland, one in the pose of *añjalimudrā*, a lion head, and even Sūrya riding in a horse chariot.[36] It is unlikely that all these functioned as iconographic indicators for particular bodhisattvas.



FIGURE 7.12. Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara. Sahrī-Bahlol mound C or D. Peshawar Museum (after Ingholt, pl. 326).

Bodhisattvas were also commonly incorporated in the Buddha triad format, of which two triads from Sahrī-Bahlol are the best-known examples (fig. 7.13).[37] Two standing figures on each side of the central Buddha in this triad are identified as bodhisattvas, not devas, because the two smaller intermediate figures between the Buddha and the two bodhisattvas are easily identified as Brahmā and Indra. One of the two bodhisattva figures is the



FIGURE 7.13. Buddha triad. Sahrī-Bahlol mound A. Peshawar Museum (after Ingholt, , pl. I-12).

well-known Maitreya type. In the other, however, the iconography is not as straightforward. In the triad from Sahrī-Bahlol mound A (fig. 7.13), the bodhisattva on the opposite side of the Maitreya type holds a wreath in his left hand and thus corresponds to the supposed Avalokiteśvara type. In another triad, from Sahrī-Bahlol mound D, the bodhisattva in the equivalent position has the left hand on the waist, as in the standing Siddhārtha type.[38] If this figure were identified as Siddhārtha, this would mean that Śākyamuni appears in this triad twice, as a bodhisattva and a Buddha, and this triad would

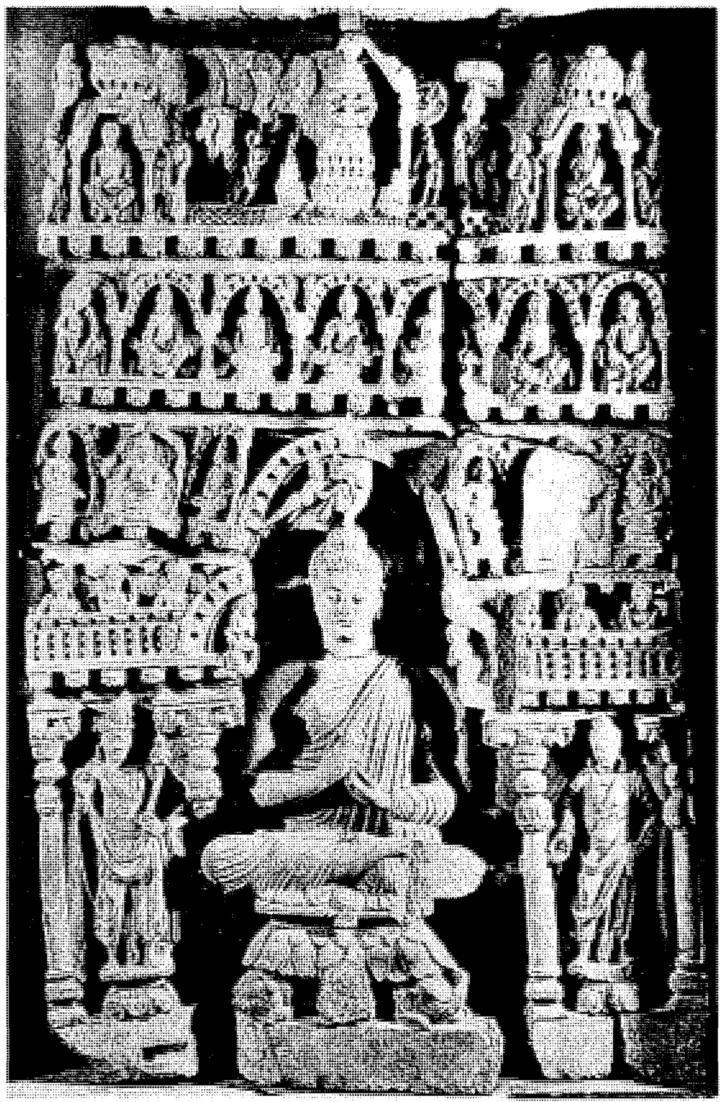


FIGURE 7.14. Buddha triad inside a shrine. Sahrī-Bahlol Mound D. Peshawar Museum (after Ingholt, pl. 257).

be a temporal sequence: Śākyamuni before enlightenment, as a prince; Śākyamuni preaching as a Buddha; and Maitreya, the Buddha-in-waiting. On closer observation, however, in the triad from Sahrī-Bahlol mound D it seems equally possible that the right hand was holding a flower or a wreath, and was not in *abhayamudrā*. Such examples are found in other triads preserved in a more complete form.[39] In any case, we may conclude that standing bodhisattvas

in Buddha triads generally consisted of either the Maitreya type and the Siddhārtha type or, more commonly, the Maitreya type and the Avalokiteśvara type.

In the late period of Gandhāran art, there seem to have been considerable modifications in this format. In a stele from Sahrī-Bahlol mound D (fig. 7.14), a Buddha triad appears in an elaborate architectural setting, and the turbaned bodhisattva on the left has his left hand on his waist just like the Siddhārtha type. However, in the same hand, he holds a long lotus stem that makes him identifiable with Avalokiteśvara. The bodhisattva on the opposite side, with *jaṭāmukuṭa*, holds a water vase in the left hand like an ordinary Maitreya, but displays *varadamudrā* with the right hand. Despite minor modifications, this triad still seems to represent Śākyamuni with Maitreya and Avalokiteśvara.

In the triad format with seated bodhisattvas as attendants, they are generally seated in the pensive pose, but there are very few examples with both figures preserved. A triad from Loriyān Tāṅgai is among these rare examples (fig. 7.15). In this triad, the bodhisattva on the Buddha's left wears a turban and holds a lotus, features that can usually be associated with Avalokiteśvara. Interestingly, the bodhisattva on the opposite side holds a book, not a water vase, and he does not wear a turban like Maitreya. It must be that the iconography of Maitreya was modified or Maitreya was replaced by a different bodhisattva, perhaps from a Mahāyāna context. Since the iconography of Maitreya was firmly established in Gandhāran art, it seems doubtful that the former was the case. We recall that the bodhisattva in the pensive pose with a book exists as an independent statue (fig. 7.9). Because the head of the statue is broken, it is impossible to confirm which bodhisattva type was represented in this instance. In fact, bodhisattvas holding a book are relatively common in Gandhāran art, especially among objects datable to the late phase.[40] A stele in the Peshawar Museum also has such a turbaned, crossed-ankle bodhisattva inside a shrine, though it is not clear that a specific bodhisattva is meant.[41]

However, if one focuses on the book alone, one is tempted to identify this type of bodhisattva as Māñjuśrī, who was quite important in early Mahāyāna Buddhism as the embodiment of wisdom, as stated in the *Prajñāpāramitā sūtras* or the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*. Because the iconography of Māñjuśrī characterized by a scripture is generally known from relatively late textual sources of esoteric Buddhism and such visual representations became common in later esoteric contexts,[42] their presence in Gandhāra may be questioned. However, a Buddhist text preserved in Chinese translations datable to as early as the third century CE, *Wenshushiribanniebanjing* (*Māñjuśrīnirvāṇa sūtra*) tells us that Māñjuśrī holds a Mahāyāna scripture in the left hand,[43] and thus the possibility of identifying our figure with Māñjuśrī cannot be ruled out.[44]

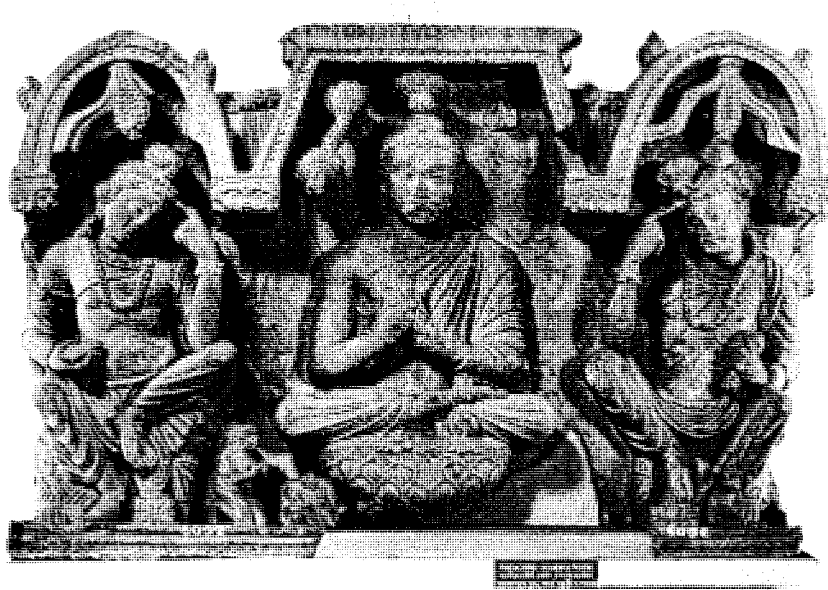


FIGURE 7.15. Buddha triad. Loriyān Tāṅgai. Indian Museum, Calcutta. Courtesy AIIS.

There is another interesting triad with seated bodhisattvas in a collection in the United States that has attracted the attention of many scholars in recent years because of its inscription (fig. 7.16). In this triad, of which only the central Buddha and the bodhisattva to the right survive, the bodhisattva is seated in a pensive pose, wearing a turban and holding a lotus, thus corresponding to the seated Avalokiteśvara type. The inscription on the base was initially read and translated by John Brough as "*budhamitrasa olo'ispare danamukhe budhamitrasa amridaha*" (The Avalokeśvara [Avalokiteśvara] of Buddhamitra, a sacred gift, the Amṛtābha [Amitābha] of Buddhamitra).[45] This reading provided the basis for a suggestion by several scholars that this type of triad represents the Amitābha accompanied by Avalokiteśvara and Mahāsthāmaprāpta.[46] However, Brough's interpretation of this inscription has been questioned by other scholars familiar with epigraphical materials. Richard Salomon and Gregory Schopen are of the opinion that the inscription refers to neither Amitābha nor Avalokiteśvara; this seems to me quite convincing.[47] Therefore, the reliability of this inscription as evidence for an Amitābha triad is dubious, and it is even more unlikely that one can extend such identification to the entire group of this type.

In larger steles with complex scenes, bodhisattvas appear in somewhat different aspects. In several examples, the most famous of which is a stele from



FIGURE 7.16. Part of Buddha triad. John and Mable Ringling Museum of Arts, the State Museum of Florida (after Davidson, pl. 23).

Mohammed Nari, mentioned in this volume by John Rosenfield, in the Lahore Museum (fig 1.5), two bodhisattvas standing beside the central Buddha each hold a garland with both hands, as if they were about to dedicate them to the Buddha. They do not hold the usual attributes (a water vase and a wreath) of the standing Maitreya and Avalokiteśvara types. However, they do have the same costume and hairstyle of the two common bodhisattva types, indicating that their identity as Maitreya and Avalokiteśvara was perhaps still retained, or that the physical appearances were kept merely as conventions. In any case,

their significance in such a scene was obviously reduced by the omission of their distinctive iconographic marks, and in some steles they appear without much differentiation from numerous other bodhisattvas surrounding the Buddha in the assembly.

The presence of a multitude of bodhisattvas is another interesting feature of such complex scenes. A question may be raised about identifying them as bodhisattvas, rather than as devas or lay worshippers, because in Gandhāran art there were few essential typological differences between the two. I consider such scenes not to belong to the ordinary narrative context representing Śākyamuni Buddha's life, and I do not agree with the popular conception, initiated by Foucher, that they represent the Miracle at Śrāvastī, as I have discussed in detail previously.[48] I regard such scenes, instead, as being part of a new thematic and liturgical context, most probably connected to Mahāyāna, that John Rosenfield once described as "theophany,"[49] and thus I interpret the multitude surrounding the Buddha as bodhisattvas present in the assembly in such a context.[50] They are engaged in various acts – conversing, pondering, caught in amazement – and most of them are seated in variants of the pensive and crossed-ankle poses. Their many forms seem to have been multiplied on the basis of these two types. Some hold a lotus or a wreath, and some a book, but it is doubtful that there was any intention of making distinctions in their individual identities.

Most of these reliefs show small chapels containing a pair in the pensive pose and another pair in the crossed-ankle pose prominently depicted on either side of the main Buddha. The bodhisattvas in the pensive pair wear turbans, and one holds a wreath and the other a round object. Those in the crossed-ankle pose exhibit a preaching gesture, and one of them lacks a turban. It is not clear whether these figures were intended to represent particular bodhisattvas.

The pensive and the crossed-ankle poses were commonly given particular importance in such complex scenes. Another stele from Mohammed Nari in the Chandigarh Museum also includes such a pair in the upper corners.[51] The pensive bodhisattva on the right wears a turban and holds a wreath in the left hand; the bodhisattva on the left, with *jaṭāmukuṭa,* seems to have had the preaching gesture. Although it is difficult to determine their exact identities, one suspects that such pairing was not casual.

A possible clue for understanding this arrangement may be found in an image from Sahrī-Bahlol mound D (fig. 7.14). In this stele, where a Buddha triad is present under an elaborately decorated pavilion, the second tier from the top displays seven figures of Buddhas and bodhisattvas seated in a row, inside arched chapels. Three figures in the centre are Buddhas with different hand gestures: the one in the middle shows *abhayamudrā,* and the ones on the

left and right the meditation and preaching gestures. The figure on one side of the Buddhas is in the pensive pose; the one on the other side is in the crossed-ankle pose. If we read these seven figures as symbolically converging toward the central Buddha, not in mere juxtaposition, we can naturally consider that some sort of hierarchy is present in their ordering; i.e., the preaching bodhisattvas in the crossed-ankle pose would appear above the pensive bodhisattvas.[52]

This is all the more intriguing when we recall that a similar hierarchical scheme is present in early Chinese Buddhist art. In the fifth-century-CE caves at Yungang and Dunhuang we find numerous figures of bodhisattvas in the crossed-ankle pose. They are generally identified as Maitreya in the Tuṣita Heaven, although I am skeptical whether all of them should be so regarded, as some could also be a previous incarnation of Śākyamuni in the same heaven. In any case, the Maitreya-type figures seated with crossed ankles are common, along with bodhisattvas in the pensive pose as attendants (fig. 7.17), thus suggesting a hierarchical relationship between these bodhisattva groups.[53] I believe that in early Chinese Buddhist art these two types were used with hierarchical implications, perhaps to indicate multiple stages within the bodhisattva practice, rather than for iconographic identification of particular bodhisattvas. Although we do not know exactly where this convention originated, we have to seriously consider the possibility that it started in Gandhāra.



FIGURE 7.17. A crossed-ankle bodhisattva flanked by two pensive bodhisattvas. Yungang Cave 10 (after *Zhongguo shiku yungang shiku*, vol. 2, pl. 54).



FIGURE 7.18. A bodhisattva surrounded by multiple emanations. Art Gallery and Museum, Chandigarh. Courtesy AIIS.

The supposition that Gandhāran Buddhists could have represented sophisticated ideas with visual images is exemplified by another interesting bodhisattva model shown in the act of multiplication (fig. 7.18). In this type, first described by the late Maurizio Taddei, a bodhisattva is seated in meditation, and multiple figures radiate from both sides of him.[54] The radiating figures have diverse identities – Buddhas, Hindu deities, armored guardians, etc.[55] Taddei, citing a passage on Avalokiteśvara in the *Saddharmapuṇḍarika*

sūtra interpreted these "multiplication" images as representations of a bodhisattva's ability to reveal himself in infinite forms to convert all sentient beings. According to this passage, Avalokiteśvara preaches dharma with versatile skillfulness, taking the shape of various beings, including a Buddha, bodhisattva, *pratyekabuddha*, Brahmā, Indra, Iśvara, and *Vajrapāṇi*.[56] Taddei rightly pointed out, however, that this ability is not unique to Avalokiteśvara and could be extended to numerous other bodhisattvas.[57]

A similar account is found in a more generic form in other Mahāyāna scriptures, such as the *Daśabhūmika sūtra* and the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*. The former, which eventually constituted an essential part of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*, explains how a bodhisattva, reaching the seventh stage of the bodhisattva practice, *acala*, attains the capability to transform himself into innumerable forms:

> Now for the Bodhisattva who has reached this stage the power of Bodhisattva-conduct is attained through the diversity of innumerable bodies, the production of innumerable voices, immeasurable bodies, the immeasurable number of births ... He adapts and sustains his own body in accordance with the birth and the attainment of bodies of living beings in order to mature them ... In conformity with the variety of bodies (i.e. colors, mark, form, length and width) and the variety of intention and mental dispositions of living beings, so he shows in various places his own body respectively in adaptation to each assembly of Buddha's realm.[58]

This passage is followed by an account of how the bodhisattva freely transforms himself, in the assembly of diverse living beings, into a *śramaṇa, brahmāṇa, kṣatriya, vaiśya, śūdra,* householder, four great kings, thirty-three gods, *śrāvaka, pratyekabuddha,* bodhisattva, and Tathāgata.

The *Bodhisattvabhūmi,* in a similar account of a bodhisattva's supernatural power, ends with the following: "The Buddha or Bodhisattva grants benefit to immeasurable, innumerable living beings in immeasurable, innumerable realms in the ten directions by creating various images."[59]

The bodhisattva emitting other images is invariably presented without a turban, an appearance somewhat similar to the Maitreya type. However, if this identification had indeed been intended here, the figure would have held the water vase as a distinctive iconographic sign.[60] Instead, this type may have been used here in a more generic sense applicable to any bodhisattva and perhaps highlighting the ideal of the bodhisattva Mahāsttva of Mahāyāna. It is interesting to note that the legendary transmitter of *Bodhisattvabhūmi,* Asaṅga, was born and was active in Gandhāra during the fourth and fifth centuries CE.[61] Although I do not intend to suggest that this image was based on a particular scripture, we should note that some doctrinal aspects of the hierar-

chical stages in the bodhisattva practice may have underlain such imagery in the Northwest.

In Gandhāran art, not only were numerous bodhisattva figures represented, but also many different kinds existed among them. Their number and variety obviously exceed what would have been possible within the boundary of non-Mahāyānic traditions. Extant bodhisattva figures seem to include those most probably worshipped exclusively by Mahāyānists, such as Avalokiteśvara and Māñjuśrī. Furthermore, there are images, such as the bodhisattva in multiplication, that could have been based on the sophisticated idea of the multiple manifestations of a Mahāyāna bodhisattva in a high stage of practice. This tradition, which is not conspicuous in the early period of Gandhāran art, seems to have become quite prominent in its later stage, particularly in bodhisattva statues, triads, and steles of complex scenes. It appears that in the later years demand for such images rose significantly in Buddhist monasteries.

Several monastic sites, such as Mohammed Nari, Takht-i-bāhī, Sahrī-Bahlol, and Loriyān Tāṅgai, seem to be particularly important in this connection. Some of the most spectacular steles depicting complex scenes, which incorporate various types of bodhisattvas, come from Mohammed Nari, Takht-i-bāhī and Sahrī-Bahlol, perhaps the most important centres of Buddhist votive carvings in stone in Gandhāra, and which yielded numerous bodhisattvas, Buddha triads, and steles of complex scenes. Loriyān Tāṅgai is notable for several bodhisattva statues holding a wreath or a lotus, and Buddha triads with seated bodhisattvas.[62] One is tempted to visualize vigorous activities of Mahāyānists at these monasteries. It might be hasty, however, to conclude that they were Mahāyāna monasteries, for epigraphical evidence from Takht-i-bāhī indicates that they were possibly affiliated to the Kāśyapīya, one of the most traditional Buddhist schools generally posited against Mahāyāna.[63]

This perplexing situation may be best understood by supposing that most Mahāyānists in Gandhāra still existed within monastic establishments of traditional schools, possibly as their progressive wings. Similar opinions have been expressed by Buddhist scholars. Étienne Lamotte, for instance, has pointed out that *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-upadeśa,* traditionally attributed to Nāgārjuna, was actually composed by one or more monks trained in the Sarvāstivāda from the northwestern region of ancient India.[64] Heinz Bechert remarked that monks of two branches, Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna (or non-Mahāyāna), lived together peacefully in the same monastic congregations.[65] These opinions seem to coincide with our supposition, and this may explain why the Chinese pilgrim Faxian reported in his travelogue that the majority of Buddhists in Gandhāra were practicing Hīnayāna.[66]

Such monasteries as Takht-i-bāhī, Sahrī-Bahlol, Mohammed Nari, and Loriyān Tāṅgai, where bodhisattvas emerge as important cult objects within

the body of imagery, may not have been declared Mahāyāna monasteries. However, Mahāyāna activities existed at these centres on a considerable scale and may have grown significantly as time went by. In light of this conclusion, the bodhisattvas Maitreya and Siddhārtha as they appear in Gandhāran art, although not distinctly Mahāyāna figures, may also need to be reappraised in relationship to the growing Mahāyāna faith present in Gandhāran Buddhism.

Notes

I am grateful for valuable comments on this chapter by Ronald Davidson, Gregory Schopen, Maurizio Taddei, and John Rosenfield during the conference at McMaster University.

1 Lamotte, "Sur la formation du Mahāyāna," 389–96; Nakamura, *Indian Buddhism*, 151.
2 Krishan, "Was Gandhāran Art a Product of Mahāyāna Buddhism?"
3 Determining a demarcation between Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna in a social context, not in scriptural or doctrinal aspects, could be a highly debatable issue. To avoid potential misunderstandings, I feel it is necessary to clarify my position on the use of the term *Mahāyāna* in this chapter. I view Mahāyāna, in the period I am dealing with, as consisting of heterogeneous groups, loosely connected by shared ideals, that did not necessarily exist as a separate social entity in the established *saṃgha*. Within each group Mahāyānists must have existed at diverse levels: those who wrote scriptures, those who read them, those who venerated deities discussed in the scriptures, and those who dedicated images as prescribed by the scriptures or knowledgeable clerics. Mahāyānists at the last two levels may not necessarily have had a clear understanding of the doctrinal implications of the deities they venerated in visual images, as is the case with the majority of lay Buddhists in the Mahāyānist sphere today. But I find it important that someone who had more profound understanding initiated such practices, and that many followers participated, regardless of their awareness of doctrinal implications.
4 Dutt, *Mahāyāna Buddhism*, 88; Lamotte, *History of Indian Buddhism*, 81–84; Hirakawa, *Shoki daijō bukkyō no kenkyū*, 3–9.
5 To be more precise, this attempt may be defined as a search for bodhisattvas that could only have been worshipped by Mahāyānists. One might consider the case of Buddhas such as Amitābha and Akṣobhya that appear only in the context of Mahāyāna. However, in Gandhāran art Buddha images are hardly distinguishable in identity, and it is doubtful that there was originally any intention to make them discernible even if they were meant to be different in name. Unlike Buddha images, representations of bodhisattvas carried clearly readable iconographic signs that revealed their identity.
6 Alfred Foucher's discussion of Gandhāran bodhisattvas in his *L'Art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra*, vol. 2, 210–43, still forms the basis of our understanding of the subject, but his assessment regarding the presence of Mahāyāna bodhisattvas in the art is generally negative. This is mainly because his understanding of Mahāyāna in Buddhist art was formed on the basis of the iconography of the advanced Mahāyāna Buddhist pantheon of the Esoteric stage, with which he became acquainted through his previous research on Pāla manuscripts and sculpture (see Foucher, *Étude sur l'iconographie bouddhique*). A recent study on the iconography of bodhisattvas in Gandhāran Buddha triads by the Japanese scholar Akira Miyaji ("Gandāra no sanzon keishiki no ryō kyōji bosatsu no zuzō") has many useful comments, from which the work described here benefited considerably. Carolyn W. Schmidt's 1990 PhD dissertation "Bodhisattva Headdresses and Hairstyles" provides a

detailed classification of Gandhāran bodhisattva images as determined from headdresses and hairstyles, but it lacks in-depth exploration of their significance.

7 The presence of three different types of bodhisattvas in this relief has also been noted by Miyaji, "Gandāra no sanzon keishiki no ryō kyōji bosatsu no zuzō," 255. According to the information available at the Taxila Museum, this piece was found not in Taxila but in Nowshera in the Peshawar Valley during the 1970s. There does not seem to be a problem of authenticity with it.

8 Regarding the iconography of Maitreya in Gandhāran art, see the study by John Huntington, "Iconography and Iconology of Maitreya Images in Gandhāra." For the images of the seven Buddhas of the past and the bodhisattva Maitreya, see Foucher, *Étude sur l'iconographie bouddhique,* vol. 2, fig. 457; Ackermann, *Narrative Stone Reliefs from Gandhāra,* pl. 74a; Huntington, "Iconography and Iconology of Maitreya Images in Gandhāra," fig. 1.

9 Foucher, *Étude sur l'iconographie bouddhique,* vol. 2, 226–27; cf. Miyaji, "Gandhāra no miroku bosatsu no zuzō," 286–88. As is well known, Maitreya bodhisattva figures from Mathurā during the Kuṣāṇa period show similar iconographic features, without a turban and holding a water vase. See, for example, the famous inscribed image from Ahicchattrā in Sharma, *Buddhist Art,* fig. 94.

10 Miyaji, "Gandāra no sanzon keishiki no ryō kyōji bosatsu no zuzō," 256.

11 Ingholt, *Gandhāran Art in Pakistan,* pls. 31–34, 44.

12 Marshall and Foucher, *Monuments of Sanchi,* vol. 2, pl. 52b.

13 In Mathurā, standing figures of the Kapardin type invariably have the left hand on the waist in a tightly clenched fist, and this type of hand form may be loosely connected with that of the Prince Siddhārtha type.

14 The inscription of "Dhivhakara" (Dipaṇkara) on a pedestal from Nowshera (Konow, *Kharoshṭhī Inscriptions,* no. 71) is among the very few clearly bearing the name of a Buddha, if Konow's interpretation is acceptable. The names "Śakamu" (Śākyamuni) and "Kaśava" (Kāśyapa) are also legible below stucco Buddhas on the walls of votive stūpas at Jauliāñ in Taxila (Marshall, *Taxila,* vol. 1, 375). The supposed "Amitābha" inscription on the Brough stele is discussed later.

15 Miyaji, "Gandāra no sanzon keishiki no ryō kyōji bosatsu no zuzō," 257.

16 Osamu Takata, "Gandara bijutsu ni okeru daijōteki chōshō: mirokuzō to kannonzō," 24–25; Miyaji, "Gandāra no sanzon keishiki no ryō kyōji bosatsu no zuzō," 262.

17 Atuuji Ashikaga's edition (Kyoto, 1965), 46–52, compiled in Kagawa, *Muryōjūkyō no shobon kenkyū,* 264; cf. Müller, "The Larger Sukhāvatīvyūha," 48.

18 Müller, "The Larger Sukhāvatīvyūha," 4–5.

19 Ingholt, *Gandhāran Art in Pakistan,* pls. 288, 289.

20 Originally published in Czuma, *Kushan Sculpture,* no. 113; cf. criticism by Tanabe, "Iconological and Typological Investigations of the Gandhāran Fake Bodhisattva Image," 84–90.

21 For example, see Ingholt, *Gandhāran Art in Pakistan,* pls. 299–302, 308.

22 Ibid., pl. 306.

23 In an inspiring discussion on Maitreya bodhisattvas of Gandhāra, John Huntington identified this type as another representation of Maitreya, indicating that the lack of a vase is due to the fact that the preaching gesture makes it impossible for the hands to hold a vase (see Huntington, "Iconography and Iconology of Maitreya Images in Gandhāra"). He also added that Maitreya figures in early Chinese Buddhist art frequently have the preaching gesture. One has to be reminded, however, that there are examples in which a vase is carved on a pedestal rather than being altogether omitted (Ingholt, *Gandhāran Art in Pakistan,* pl. 308).

24 See, for example, Ingholt, *Gandhāran Art in Pakistan,* pl. 318; Huntington, "Iconography and Iconology of Maitreya Images in Gandhāra," fig. 13; N.P. Joshi and R.C. Sharma,

Catalogue of Gandhāra Sculptures in the State Museum, Lucknow (Lucknow: State Museum, 1969), fig. D. Foucher regarded all such bodhisattvas as Siddhārtha (*L'Art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra*, vol. 2, 228–31).

25 Also see W. Zwalf, *A Catalogue of the Gandhāra Sculpture in the British Museum* (London: British Museum, 1996), pls. 38, 39; *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report 1907-1908*, Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, 1910, pl. XLVIb.

26 Osamu Takata ("Gandāra bijutsu ni okeru daijōteki chōshō: mirokuzō to kannonzō," 24–25) questioned whether the wreath should be regarded as a unique sign for Avalokiteśvara, although the lotus may be so regarded.

27 Pal, *Bronzes of Kashmir*, pl. 45. This figure is generally dated to the seventh or eighth century CE and understood as being related to similar rock-cut bodhisattva images in the Swāt valley.

28 Ingholt, *Gandhāran Art in Pakistan*, pl. 161(D).

29 Cf. Miyaji, "Gandāra no hankashiyu no zuzō," 321–53.

30 An example of this is in the Museum für Indische Kunst in Berlin (Grünwedel, *Buddhist Art in India*, fig. 139); another piece is in the Tokyo National Museum (Kurita, *Gandāra bijutsu*, vol. 2, pl. 9).

31 See, for example, Foucher, *L'Art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra*, vol. 2, fig. 426.

32 Grünwedel, *Buddhist Art in India*, 109–10; Foucher, *L'Art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra*, vol. 2, 32–40; Coomaraswamy, "Rape of a Nāgi," 333–40; Zimmer, *Art of Indian Asia*, vol. 1, 48–67.

33 Soper, *Literary Evidence for Early Buddhist Art in China*, 155.

34 Czuma, *Kushan Sculpture*, pl. 109.

35 There exist, of course, Avalokiteśvara figures with a Buddha in the headdress, such as an attendant figure in an Amitābha triad on the south wall of Cave 17 of Yungang, datable at ca. 460 CE (*Zhongguo shiku yungang shiku*, vol. 2, pl. 152). However, images of Maitreya with a Buddha in the headdress were far more common in this period.

36 A bodhisattva with a figurine on its headdress holding a garland (Mallmann, "Head-Dresses with Figurines in Buddhist Art," 80–89, fig. 3; Fussman, "Numismatic and Epigraphical Evidence," 67–88, fig. 8) is identified as Siddhārtha because there is a plowing scene on the pedestal. For a bodhisattva with a lion in his headdress, see Barger and Wright, *Excavations in Swāt and Explorations in the Oxus Territories of Afghanistan*, pl. V2; for the one with a figurine in *añjalimudrā*, see Mallmann, "Head-Dresses with Figurines in Buddhist Art," fig. 4; for the one with Sūrya on the chariot, see Kurita, *Gandāra bijutsu*, vol. 2, pl. 117. John Huntington identified with confidence the last figure as the bodhisattva Sūryaprabha ("Iconography and Iconology of Maitreya Images in Gandhāra," no. 32).

37 For another stele, see Ingholt, *Gandhāran Art in Pakistan*, pl. 253. See also Miyaji's discussion of this problem in "Gandāra no sanzon keishiki no ryō kyōji bosatsu no zuzō."

38 See note 37.

39 Foucher, "Great Miracle at Śrāvastī," pl. XXIV.2, and the Archaeological Survey of India Frontier Circle photograph album in New Delhi, vol. 5, no. 323/1151 (from Sahrī-Bahlol mound C).

40 Cf. Quagliotti, "Mañjuśrī in Gandhāran Art."

41 Ingholt, *Gandhāran Art in Pakistan*, pl. 256 (lower-left corner).

42 Mallmann, *Étude iconographique sur Mañjuśrī*, 26–30.

43 Taishō, *Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō*, vol. 463, 481a.

44 Foucher ("Great Miracle at Śrāvastī," explanation at pl. XXV.2), and Majumdar (*Guide to the Sculptures in the Indian Museum*, 66–67) also viewed as Mañjuśrī the bodhisattva with a book in this triad from Loriyān Tāṅgai.

45 Brough, "Amitābha and Avalokiteśvara."

46 Fussman, "Numismatic and Epigraphical Evidence," 73-74; Iwamatsu, "Gandāra chokoku to amidabutsu"; Fussman, "La place des *Sukhāvatī vyūha* dans le bouddhisme indien," 550.

47 Salomon and Schopen, "On an Alleged Reference to Amitābha"; cf. Gregory Schopen, "Inscription on the Kuṣān Image of Amitābha," 130, n. 50. Akira Miyaji initially suggested that the inscription may have been added later ("Gandāra sanzon keishiki no ryō kyōji bosatsuzō ni tsuite," in *Indo Pakistan no bukkyō zuzō* [Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1985], 20-21), and then revised his skeptical opinion ("Gandāra no sanzon keishiki no ryō kyōji bosatsu no zuzō," 272). Salomon cautiously ruled out the possibility of later insertion of the inscription (personal communication).

48 Foucher, "Great Miracle at Śrāvastī"; Rhi, "Gandhāran Images of the Śrāvastī Miracle."

49 Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts of the Kushans,* 236-38.

50 John Huntington once identified, with elaborate arguments, the Mohammed Nari stele as a representation of Amitābha's pure land, Sukhāvatī ("A Gandhāran Image of Amitāyus' Sukhāvatī"). Japanese scholars (for example Toyomune Minamoto, "Shaeijō no shinben" and "Jōdōhen no keishiki") also noted its resemblance to the depictions of Sukhāvatī in East Asian Buddhist art. Despite the apparent similarity, however, there does not seem to be enough evidence for connecting such a scene to Amitābha's Sukhāvatī.

51 Foucher, "Great Miracle at Śrāvastī," pl. XXVII.

52 Miyaji, who also noticed the significant pairing of bodhisattvas in the pensive and crossed-ankle poses in Gandhāran art, suggests that the pensive pose may have implied reflection on worldly concerns and the release from them, and heading toward the sacred realm of liberation. See Miyaji, "Gandāra no hankashiyu no zuzō," 348.

53 This is particularly notable at the Yungang caves. See *Zhongguo shiku yungang shiku,* vol. 1, pl. 43; vol. 2, pls. 19, 54, 77, 89, 210, 218.

54 Taddei, "Non-Buddhist Deities in Gandhāran Art."

55 Taddei, ibid., cited three examples, including one at the Naprstek Museum in Prague that displays only emanating Buddhas. I add here one more piece, at Chandigarh Museum (no. 2355, unpublished).

56 Taddei cited Mallmann's French translation (*Introduction à l'étude d'Avalokiteçvara,* 31-32) based on the Sanskrit version edited by Kern and Nanjio. The details of the manifestations of Avalokiteśvara vary depending on the versions. Cf. Kern, *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka,* 410-12; T. 262: 57a-b; Hurvitz, *Scripture of the Lotus Blossom,* 314-15.

57 Taddei, "Non-Buddhist Deities in Gandhāran Art."

58 Honda, "Annotated Translation of the *Daśabhūmika sūtra,*" 224-25.

59 Translation based on Wogihara, *Bodhisattvabhūmi,* 64.

60 Extant examples of seated Maitreya bodhisattvas in *dhyānamudrā* invariably hold a water vase. See, for example, Majumdar, *Guide to the Sculptures in the Indian Museum,* part 2, pl. IVb; Foucher, *L'Art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra,* vol. 2, fig. 422; Ingholt, *Gandhāran Art in Pakistan,* pl. 302.

61 According to the *Biography of Vasubandhu* (T. 2049) translated into Chinese by Paramārtha during the sixth century CE, Asaṅga was born in Puruṣapura (Peshawar). Xuanzang gave a similar account regarding Asaṅga and his younger brother Vasubandhu, who was another eminent exponent of Yogācāra thought. See Beal, *Si-Yu-Ki,* vol. 1, 98.

62 Regarding the dominant importance of these sites as the provenance of Buddha triads and steles of complex scenes, see table 2 ("Provenance Sites of the So-called 'Śrāvastī Miracle' Images"), in Rhi, "Gandhāran Images of the Śrāvastī Miracle," 192.

63 Konow, *Kharoshṭhī Inscriptions,* no. 22. A fragmentary inscription on a potsherd from Takht-i-bāhī reads "*saṃghe cadudiśe ka* ... (in the four quarters)." There is no question about the reading of the first two words, but "*ka* ..." is more problematic. Konow interpreted "*ka* ..." as "*Kaśyaviyana*" (Kāśyapīyānām). In Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, the phrase *saṃghe cadudiśe* was

usually followed by the words indicating the place and the school. On the other hand, in two inscriptions from Mahal and from Bedadi (Konow, *Kharoshṭhī Inscriptions,* nos. 33 and 34) the equivalent parts read, respectively, "*saṃghe cadudiśe Utararamae Takṣaśilae Kaśaviana parigra[he]*" (in the *saṃgha* of the four quarters in Uttarārāma of Takṣaśila, in the acceptance of the Kāśyapīyas) and "*saṃghe cadudiśe Uraśaraje acarya[ne]na Kaṣyaviyana*" (in the saṃgha of the four quarters, in the Uraśā kingdom, of the Kāśyapīya teachers). Therefore, "*ka* ..." could just as well have been a place name, and hence Konow's suggestion may well be questioned. However, such a formula appears most frequently in the inscriptions of the Kāśyapīya, and the only example used for other schools is a lion capital from Mathurā dedicated to the Sarvāstivāda (Konow, *Kharoshṭhī Inscriptions,* no. 15). This sect was dominant in Gandhāra, as confirmed by the fact that five out of ten inscriptions from the region state that sectarian affiliations belonged to this school. In light of the above, it seems possible that the inscription from the Takht-i-bāhī potsherd mentions the Kāśyapīya and that it would have continued as "*Kaśyaviyana parigrahe* ... "

64 Lamotte, *Le traité de la grand sagesse de Nāgārjuna,* vol. 3, xiv-xxvi.

65 Bechert, "Notes on the Formation of Buddhist Sects," 11-14.

66 Beal, *Si-Yu-Ki,* vol. 1, xxxvi.

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8 The Nature and Use of the Bodily Relics of the Buddha in Gandhāra

Robert L. Brown

What do the Buddha's bodily relics look like? What was their material nature? The body relics might be divided into two categories: first, those that remained after the Buddha's cremation, such as bone fragments, teeth, or just ash; and second, parts of his body, such as the eyeball that Xuanzang reported seeing in Gandhāra in the seventh century. The eyeball was "large as an Amra fruit and bright and clear throughout," and was "deposited in a precious casket sealed up and fastened."[1] The actual eyeball would assumedly not have survived the cremation, and can be considered as something other than the relics in the first category, insofar as its existence is difficult to interpret in simple terms of what we assume actually happened to the Buddha's body after death.

The eyeball was displayed along with bone fragments, two sections of the Buddha's skull-bone. One was "1 foot 2 inches round; the hair orifices are distinct; its colour is a whitish-yellow," and the shape of the second "is like a lotus leaf."[2] These large pieces of "bone" were meant to be seen, worshipped, and in one case, physically used.[3]

What about the relics, however, that were placed within stūpas? As far as I know, no such large pieces of bone have been found in the relic caskets from Gandhāra.[4] What is mentioned as found in the reliquaries are sometimes tiny pieces of "bone" and/or ash. Most often, no bone or ash is mentioned at all in the list of materials found in the reliquaries. But these reliquaries are usually filled with other objects, most often gems, stones, beads, jewellery, coins, and various small gold objects. Why? What is this material doing in the reliquaries? What is their relationship to the relics?

Indeed, where are the relics? Are we to believe that in an enormous monument such as stūpa 1 at Sāñcī, the entire structure is powered by a grain-sized piece of bone, like plutonium in a reactor? Actually, relics did not seem to be in short supply. Xuanzang not only saw them everywhere, but has stories of people almost gratuitously carrying them around.[5] He mentions that in a

stūpa in Kapiśa "there is a considerable quantity (a pint, or *shing*) of relics of Tathāgata, consisting of his bones and flesh, and that wonderful miracles are wrought thereby, which it would be difficult to name separately."[6] Xuanzang says that Kaniṣka put "a peck" of the Buddha's body-relics into his famous stūpa at Peshawar.[7] Yet, we usually look for them in vain when we have the opportunity to open a buried reliquary, and never are they numerous or large. Even in Kaniṣka's reliquary, excavated from his "famous stūpa" by the British in 1908, bone-relics were hardly "a peck." Found within the famous bronze reliquary with Kaniṣka's inscription was a tiny six-sided crystal measuring about 2½ by 1½ inches into which a 1-inch hole had been drilled. "Three small fragments of bone" were "tightly packed" inside, according to D.B. Spooner's report in the *Archaeological Survey of India Annual Report* for 1908-9.[8]

The story of what happened to the Buddha's relics immediately after his cremation is well known. With armies of eight kings lined up to fight over the ash and bone, the Brahman Droṇa divided the relics into eight equal parts, one for each king to enshrine in a stūpa. Droṇa is the Sanskrit word for "bucket," and the Brahman appears to be a personification of the original container in which the relics were held. In the narrative, Droṇa is allowed to keep this original container, or perhaps it was the vessel that was used to measure out the relics that he kept, which became a relic in itself. The "Distribution of the Relics" was a popular subject of Gandhāran reliefs, although it is not much (if at all?) seen elsewhere in Indian art.

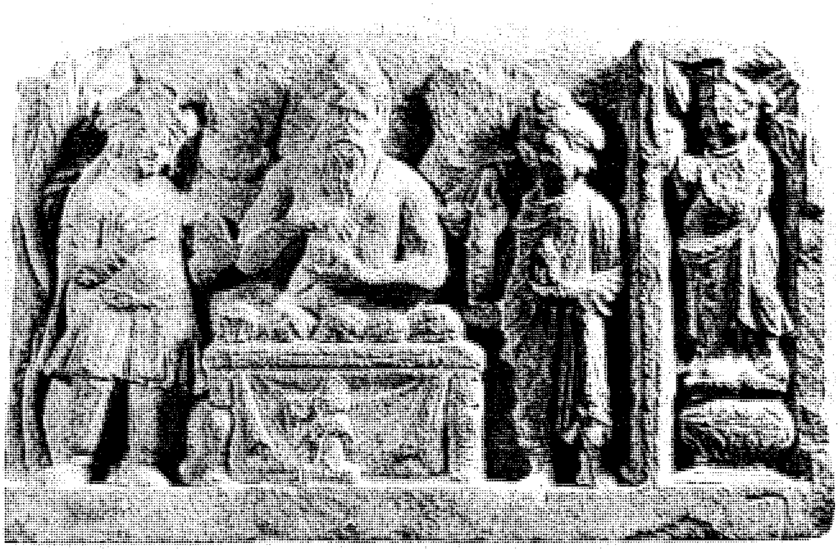


FIGURE 8.1. Droṇa distributing the relics. Ranigat. Stone, h. 21.59 cm. Lahore Museum (after Ingholt, no. 153).

The Gandhāran reliefs of the Distribution, which date roughly from the first few centuries CE, are all very similar (fig. 8.1). They show the bearded and long-haired Brahman before a table on which the relics are neatly divided, usually into eight portions. It is the only time that the body relics are shown in the reliefs and paintings of India.[9] What do they look like? They are round balls, usually with a crosshatched design. Droṇa appears to be moulding them. He will touch them with his hands, but the princes, who are sometimes present, hold reliquaries and appear not to be allowed to touch the relics themselves. It is possible that these ashes were perhaps mixed with something else like water, sandalwood powder, cosmetics, or clay. At least we can say that they are not bones.

The round shape of the relic-balls may relate to the general shape of the Gandhāran reliquaries, which are all – despite considerable variety – essentially round.[10] I know of no square or angular reliquaries from Gandhāra. One of the most popular forms is that of a spherical box with a lid. These stone boxes were created on a lathe, giving them a well-turned grace. Two examples are the Indravarman Casket and a second inscribed reliquary now



FIGURE 8.2. Reliquary (the Indravarman Casket). Stone, dia. 5.4 cm. Courtesy Metropolitan Museum of Art, gift of Samuel Eilenberg, 1987.

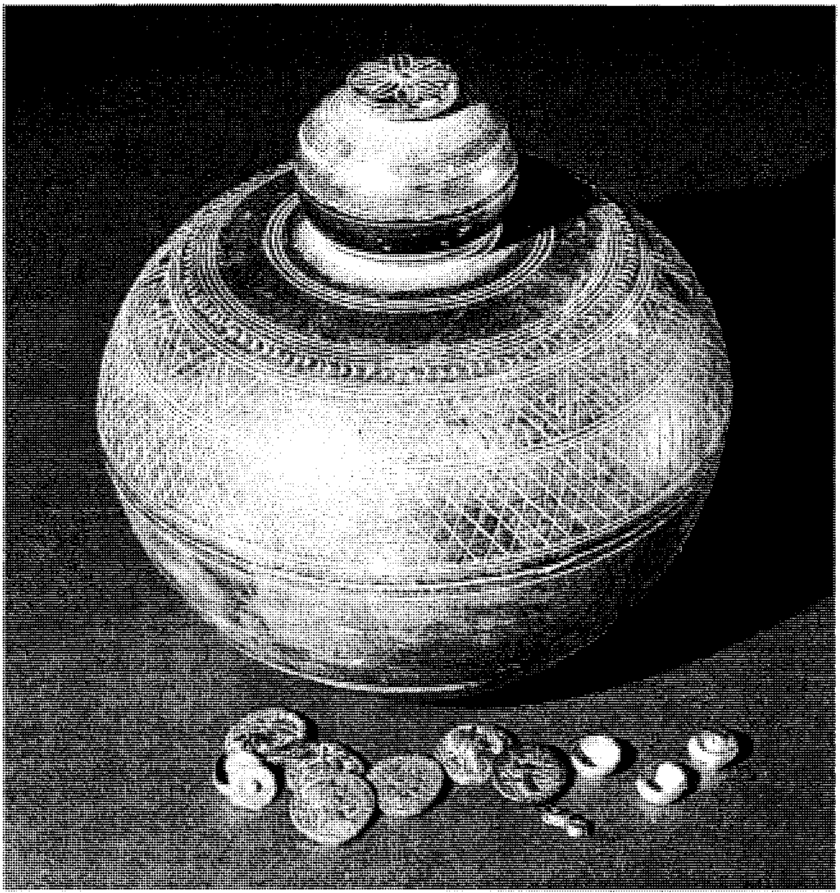


FIGURE 8.3. Reliquary. Passani, Afghanistan. Stone, dia. 16.6 cm. Courtesy British Museum.

in the British Museum (figs. 8.2 and 8.3). Both date to the first part of the first century CE. They are similar in shape to the ball-shaped relics Droṇa had formed. Note on the British Museum reliquary the crosshatching design, which occurs on many other similarly shaped reliquaries,[11] and is like that on Droṇa's relic-balls. Thus, the very box, in shape and design, reflects the appearance of the relics.

Their similar circular form may be taken a step further. Often the reliquaries are in the shape of miniature stūpas (for example, fig. 8.4), sharing the form of the monument in which they will be encased. Indeed, what we have is the relic/reliquary set, like Russian boxes, one within the other, all sharing the basic round shape of the innermost form of Droṇa's relics. The box or reliquary as well as the stūpa might be seen as an amplification of the relic.



FIGURE 8.4. Reliquary. Stone, h. 78 cm. Private collection, London (after Czuma, fig. 82).

Consider the predominance of circular patterns such as the lotus, wheel, rosette, and umbrella that are used to decorate both stūpas and reliquaries, and we might be able to suggest forms that by their shape reflect a relic.

Many of the Gandhāran reliquaries are inscribed, but I do not see that the inscriptions tell us much about what the relic looked like. The inscriptions frequently say that the relics are those of the Buddha Śākyamuni. The term *śarīra* (in its Prakrit equivalent) in these inscriptions is translated as "body relics"; *dhātu* and *jhava* also occur in the Gandhāran inscriptions and mean "relic." I am assuming that it is body relics that are deposited in reliquaries and in stūpas, and not things like Buddha's clothes.[12] But it may be more than this, as it appears that relics like his eye or his skull bones were not deposited either. Is it a simple case that for a relic to be viewed there had to be something to see? People cannot see a speck of ash, or be impressed with a splinter of bone. In this way, the reliquary was indeed, if it contained an ash-speck, the relic for purposes of seeing and worshipping.

The Indravarman inscription (fig. 8.2) says that relics produced merit (specifically "brahma-merit") for Prince Indravarman by his placing them "in a secure, deep, previously unestablished place."[13] These relics and their con-



FIGURE 8.5. Reliquary. Stone, dia. 9.2 cm. Courtesy Metropolitan Museum of Art, gift of Samuel Eilenberg, 1987.

tainer were apparently intended to be placed where they could not be seen, or at least not seen easily. It is, according to the inscription, the act of establishing the relics in a new place that is clearly crucial. They were obtained (according to the inscription) from another nearby stūpa, so finding relics of the Buddha was, as I have already said, not particularly difficult.[14]

Yet another reliquary that comes from the same place as the Indravarman reliquary (Avaca) says that Ramaka deposited relics "avec abondance" or "with abundance," according to Gérard Fussman's translation (fig. 8.5).[15] This would be very interesting if correct, and if it means that the relics were abundant in quantity. It fits with Xuanzang's statement about the quantity of relics in the Kapiśa stūpa. It could also mean that the abundance was on the part of Ramaka, in terms of generosity of gifts, which is the way Fussman apparently interprets it.[16]

If it means Ramaka's abundance, it must refer to other objects he deposited along with the relic. Why, in fact, is all this other material present? I will use here the reliquary that Stanislaw Czuma published in his catalogue of Kuṣāṇa sculpture because it is one of the few found with its contents that have adequate illustrations.[17] The outer reliquary of gilded stone is in the shape of a stūpa (fig. 8.4). Inside there were various boxes of silver, gold, stone, and crystal (fig. 8.6), as well as jewellery of gold and beads of various stones and

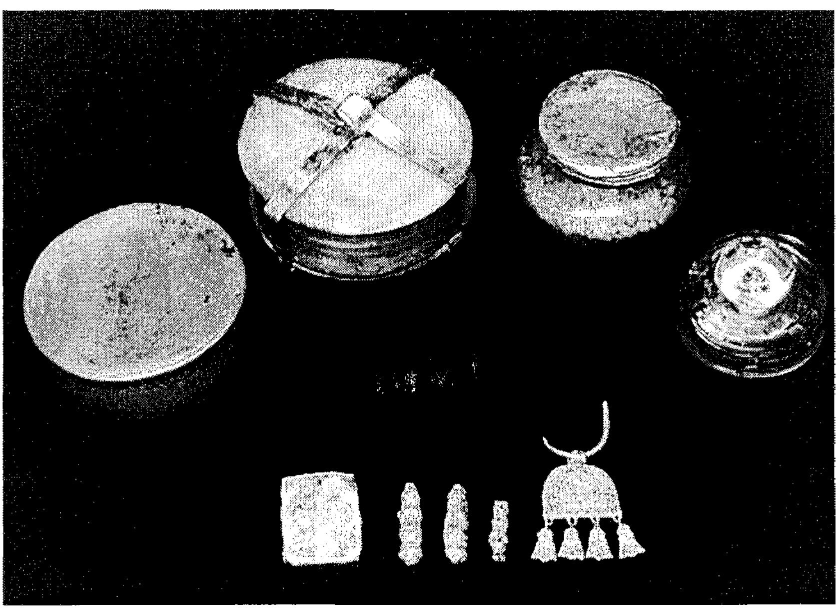


FIGURE 8.6. Partial contents of reliquary in fig. 8.4, including gold box, stone box with gold bands, crystal jar filled with pulverized earth, and gold jewelry. Private collection, London (after Czuma, fig. 82A).

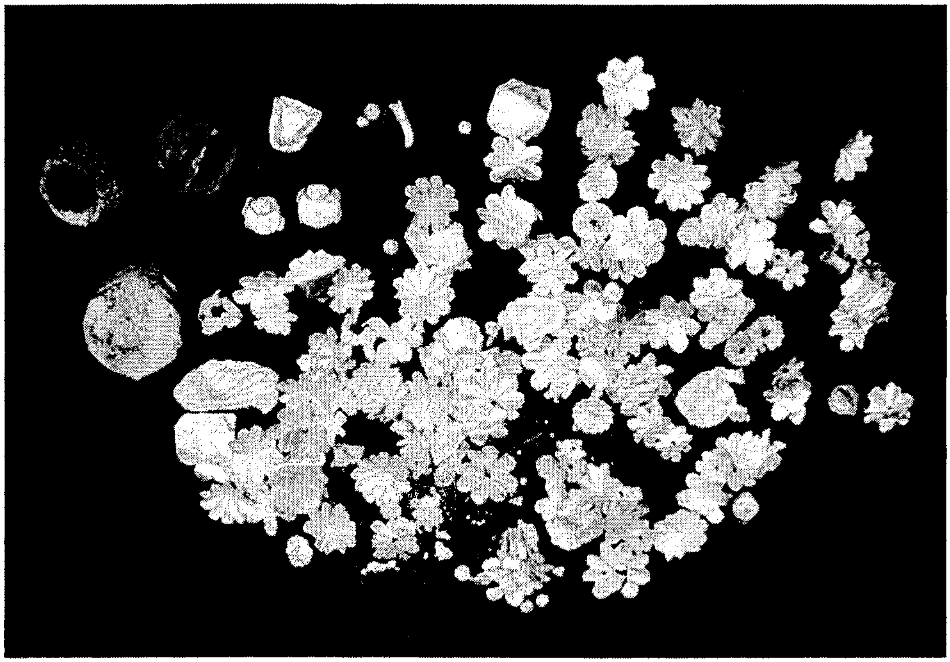


FIGURE 8.7. More contents from reliquary in fig. 8.4, including rings and gold flowers pierced for attachment to clothing. Private collection, London (after Czuma, fig. 82A).

coral.[18] There were many small gold flowers, some apparently meant to be strung and worn, or more probably sewn onto clothing (fig. 8.7). There was also, and this is what made this find of particular importance, a long Kharoṣṭhī inscription on a gold leaf.[19] This inscription says at the very beginning that King Seṇavarma donated the "treasure" for deposit.[20] No mention is made in the catalogue of bone or ash being found in the reliquary.

One type of object very often found in Gandhāran relic deposits, but not mentioned as found in the reliquary illustrated in Czuma's catalogue, was coins. No objects of bronze or copper are noted by Czuma either, although objects made from these materials are often present in deposits, and often are used for the reliquaries themselves. It is likely that this reliquary, which belongs to a private London collector and probably was purchased on the art market without provenance, was accompanied by both coins and bronze material in the original context when other objects were deposited along with the reliquary.

What categorizes all of this material is its wordly value. The objects are costly and precious. None is easily labeled as sacred. The material appears as a

hodgepodge of valued personal items. Included in the London stūpa reliquary, for example, was a crystal stopper, minus its bottle. In other words, it appears that the stopper was a valuable object because of its material, even without its bottle (perhaps more easily parted with because the bottle had long since broken). But why include this material?

Most likely it is simply intended as a donation, a gift, to the Buddha, just as one would give such objects to a monastery for the upkeep of the monks, or for the building of a stūpa, or the making of an image. The donation is merit producing. My next question is to ask if this, rather than the actual establishment of relics, is the important action. The relics appear to be easily obtainable and numerous, yet they do not seem to fill any of the reliquaries, and may be missing altogether. Could the essential act, in terms of the intent of the donors, be the gifting of the precious material rather than that of supplying the relics themselves?

If we look at the long inscription on the gold plate found in the London stūpa reliquary, we find that the relics deposited in the reliquary ("the Bhagavant's body-relics") were "brought from the basic Hall (*śālā*) Ra'aña,"[21] again indicating that they were easily obtained and well-known relics. Certainly, the action of establishing the relics in a new place, mentioned above and explored by Solomon and Schopen in relation to the Indravarman inscription,[22] is of importance here as well. Yet one is given pause by the question: where in the London reliquary are the relics, spoken of at such great length on the gold inscription, in the first place?[23] In some respects, the very inscriptions themselves are yet another way, along with the rounded form and crosshatched designs, to produce visually the relic itself. Look how the inscription on the Indravarman reliquary is written in large clear letters all over the box (fig. 8.2), the visual effect being an overwhelming representation of the relic in words. In effect, the inscriptions, the containers, the precious objects *are* the relic in many ways. These are the objects that preoccupy the donors in terms of effort and expense, and produce the desired visual and ritual goals.

Where did the idea of using a relic in this way come from? It appears that there was nothing unusual about the practice in ancient India of burying bones and ash following a cremation. The *Gṛhya sūtra* describes how the material is to be put into an urn and buried. Giuseppe de Marco has also shown that there were a variety of structures in Gandhāra used as tombs, including even the stūpa – structures that apparently could be entered and in which bodies were placed.[24] The bodies of famous yogis were buried under small stūpas, an example of which is shown in a first-century BCE relief from Sāñcī, the stūpa located within an *āśrama*.[25] In short, the practice of burying or interring body relics within a monument or pot is not unusual.

What does seem unusual is precisely what I noted above: placing the relics along with treasure.[26] This seems to be the Buddhist contribution, and it again argues for the Buddha's relics to be seen, in terms of their material nature, in a wide context of visual imagery that includes the entire deposit. It also suggests why the actual relic of ash or bone might become of little material importance, being easily lost in the rich display of treasure.[27]

Several insights by R. Soekmono can be brought in here, although he is writing about material found in Central Java of the eighth to tenth centuries.[28] Soekmono argues that the Javanese *candi* (a problematical word that might be considered similar in meaning to *caitya* in Sanskrit, a "sacred place"), long thought to be monuments in which ashes of cremated kings were deposited, were in fact not "mortuary" at all but were temples in which deities were worshipped. Soekmono's argument is based on the placement in Balinese temples of substitute relics called *pripih* that he feels were also used in the *candis*. The *pripih* include such things as objects of gold and bronze and semi-precious stones. I am intrigued with the extent to which we are dealing with substitute relics in the Gandhāran case; at least, we may have evidence of such a practice in faraway Java.

The second issue that Soekmono's book brings up that is of interest to us is the practice of placing foundation boxes in monuments. Indeed, I think Soekmono does not deal sufficiently with the relationships and differences between reliquaries and deposit or foundation boxes, usually using them interchangeably. The practice of depositing objects when building a temple, stūpa, or other religious structure in India is widespread. For a Hindu temple, the germ is deposited in the temple's foundation in a ritual called the *Garbhādhāna* (giving of the germ), in which a germ-vessel made of metal is placed in the earth in an action, according to Stella Kramrisch, that indicates the seed (*bīja*) of the building impregnating the earth; "she receives the seed (*bīja*) of the building and gives substance (*prakṛti*) to the Germ."[29] The objects held in the deposit vessel are indeed similar to those of the *pripih*,[30] and also to some of our Gandhāran reliquary deposits, such as semi-precious stones, gems, gold foil, and metals. But the intent of placing this material in the deposit boxes is to indicate "the distribution of the wealth of the earth."[31] Deposit boxes are very predominantly square, often divided inside into compartments. The square shape reflects the Indian idea of the earth as square, and the compartments reflect the division of a *maṇḍala* with its directional symbolism.[32]

One might argue that the placement of a relic into a deposit casket is what we have in the Gandhāran examples. I do feel there are shared ideas and concepts between deposit boxes and reliquaries, but the valuable treasure placed with the Buddhist relic is not the same as the highly structured and symbolically potent objects placed in the deposit boxes.

Rather, entirely different historical evidence suggests that the practice of burying treasure with the dead may have come from practices associated with the royalty of the peoples living in the areas adjacent to that of Gandhāra in the first centuries BCE and CE, perhaps the Kuṣāṇas. During the 1978-79 field season of the excavation of Tilya Tepe by Soviet and Afghani archaeologists, a momentous find was made: eight royal burials that date from around 50 BCE to 50 CE. It is thought that they are graves of royalty of one of the branches of the Kuṣāṇa who were ruling at the time from nearby Yemshi Tepe.[33] Of the eight graves, the authorities managed to excavate six before being forced by winter weather to end the dig in February 1979. The Soviet archaeologists were never to return, as war intervened. It is known that the remaining two graves were looted and their contents sold on the international market. Unfortunately, the fate of the excavated material from the other six graves (some 20,000 artifacts, many of them gold) that had been placed in the Kabul Museum is also not known today.

There is no indication from their grave deposits that these Kuṣāṇa royalty were Buddhists. Of all the artifacts found, only one is Buddhist.[34] Nevertheless, the other grave goods include the same kinds of material that are found in Gandhāran Buddhist relic deposits: jewellery, gold ornaments, coins, beads, and covered boxes of certain types.[35] One can compare the rings, necklace ornaments, earrings, and beads found in the London reliquary with the same types of material in the Tilya Tepe graves (cf. figs. 8.7 and 8.8). One is perhaps most struck by the many gold rosettes, each with tiny holes for attaching it to clothing, that are found in both deposits.[36] Perhaps, in light of the Tilya Tepe burials, the basic reason the material is put with the relic is simply because this is what the Kuṣāṇas buried with their dead royalty. In other words, the material has no "Buddhist" meaning.

Of the six excavated graves, only one was for a male; the other five graves contained bodies of females, four of whom apparently were quite young. This has led Pugachenkova and Rempel to suggest that the women were wives of the dead male king and were killed upon his death and buried at the same time.[37] Among the items buried with the male were objects that identified him as a warrior, such as arrowheads, two daggers, and a sword. His horse was also buried nearby. But most of the material found in his grave consisted of gold ornaments that were sewn onto his clothing (fig. 8.8). This is true for the other burials as well, with enormous numbers of such decorations found, for some of the bodies wore multiple layers of clothing, each decorated with sewn-on golden ornaments. In addition, the bodies wore jewellery, belts, and headgear. The drawing in fig. 8.9 shows how the gold adornment that was found with remains of the upper body of the warrior in Grave Four (fig. 8) traces the patterns in which it was sewn onto his now-lost clothing.

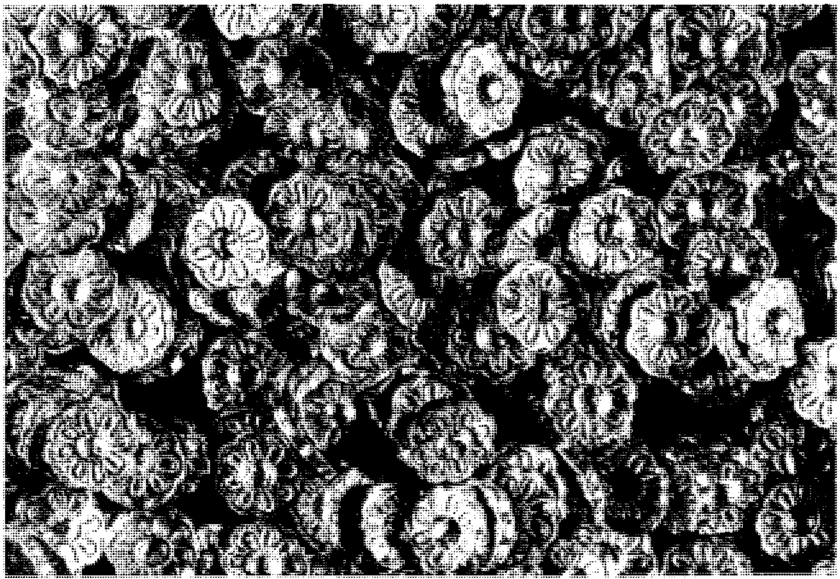


FIGURE 8.8. Gold flowers pierced for attachment to clothing. Burial 4 at Tilya Tepe. Each dia. 1.3 cm (after Sarianidi, *Bactrian Gold,* illus. 1).

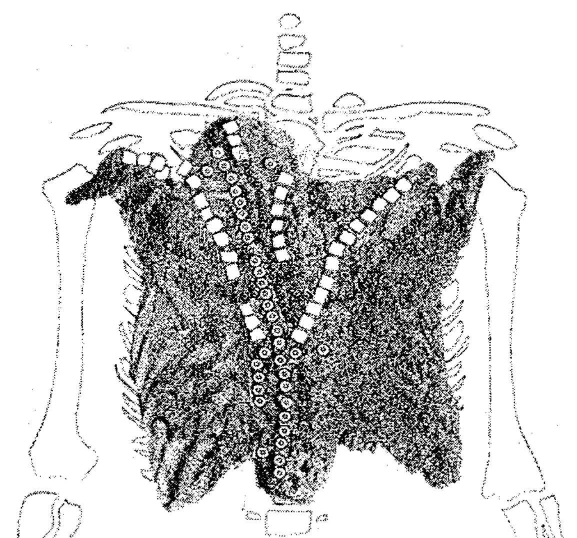


FIGURE 8.9. Drawing showing placement of gold decoration sewn on clothing of male in Burial 4 at Tilya Tepe (drawing based on Sarianidi, "The Golden Hoard of Bactria," illus. on p. 63).

The female burials contained similar gold decorations, but also had specifically feminine objects not found in the male's grave, such as combs, mirrors, and cosmetic boxes. We know the boxes were used for cosmetics and perfumes because one of them contained a metal spatula (fig. 8.13). These cosmetic boxes turn out to be of some special importance, because when we arrange them typologically we find that they in fact are identical to the types of the relic boxes found in the Gandhāran Buddhist deposits. There were eight cosmetic boxes found among the female graves, and they can be sorted into three typologies according to shape: globular, vertical cylindrical, and flattened cylindrical (figs. 8.10–8.16). The three globular boxes (figs. 8.10–8.12) reflect probably the most common of the Gandhāran reliquary shapes, and can be compared to the Indravarman and Ramaka reliquaries discussed



FIGURE 8.10. Cosmetic box. Burial 1 at Tilya Tepe. Silver, dia. 3 cm (after Sarianidi, *Bactrian Gold*, illus. 146).

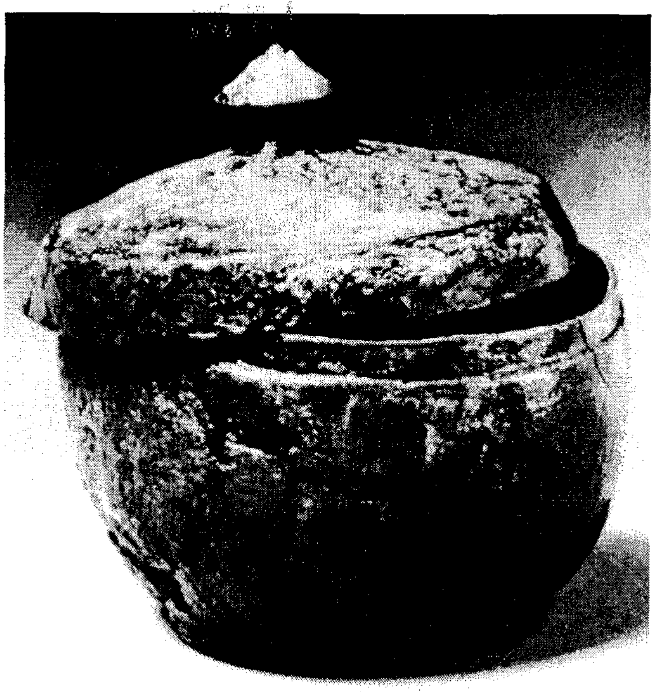


FIGURE 8.11. Cosmetic box. Burial 5 at Tilya Tepe. Silver, dia. 7 cm (after Sarianidi *Bactrian Gold*, illus. 14).



FIGURE 8.12. Cosmetic box. Burial 3 at Tilya Tepe. Metal, dia. 2 cm (after Sarianidi *Bactrian Gold*, illus. 141).





FIGURE 8.13. Cosmetic box and spatula. Burial 6 at Tilya Tepe. Silver, dia. 5 cm (after Sarianidi, *Bactrian Gold*, illus. 36)

FIGURE 8.14. Cosmetic box. Burial 3 at Tilya Tepe. Silver, dia. 6.3 cm (after Sarianidi, *Bactrian Gold*, illus. 79).



FIGURE 8.15. Cosmetic box. Burial 3 at Tilya Tepe. Metal, dia. 5.6 cm (after Sarianidi, *Bactrian Gold*, illus. 141).

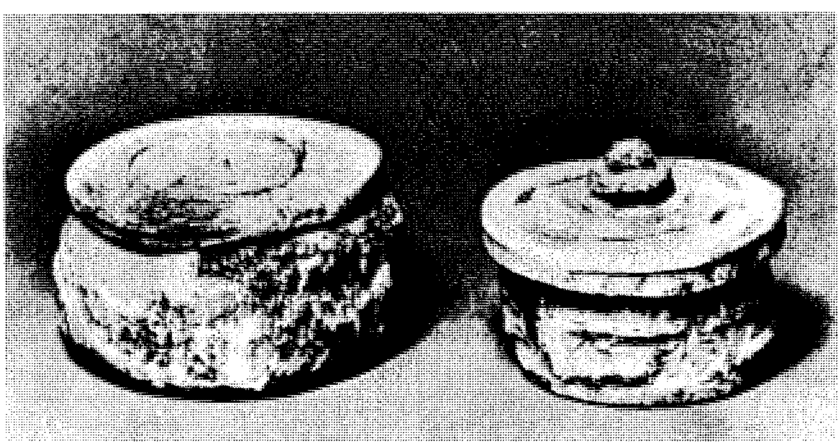


FIGURE 8.16. Two cosmetic boxes. Burial 6 at Tilya Tepe. Ivory, dia. 8.5 and 6.2 cm (after Sarianidi, *Bactrian Gold*, illus. 34).



FIGURE 8.17. Reliquary. Bīmarān. Silver, dia. 7.7 cm. Courtesy British Museum.

FIGURE 8.18. Three reliquaries. From right: gold, copper alloy, and bronze; h. about 14 cm., 22.5 cm., and 22.9 cm. Courtesy British Museum.

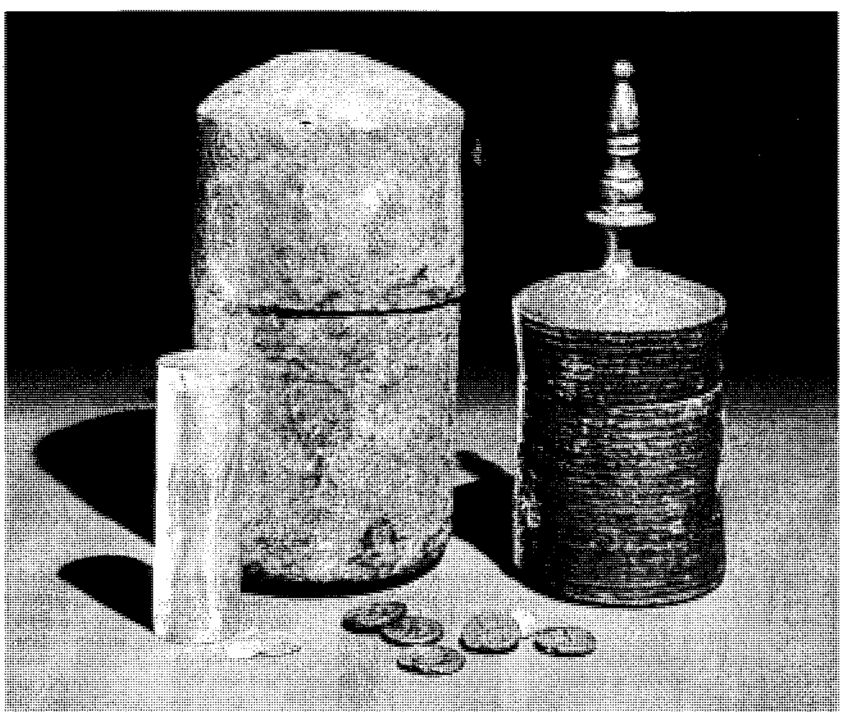




FIGURE 8.19. Reliquary. Stūpa at Kotpur, Afghanistan. Stone, dia. 10.3 cm. Courtesy British Museum.

above (figs. 8.2 and 8.3). Particularly telling is the design of the knobs on the cosmetic pots (including those of all three types), as they are identical in form to those on the reliquaries. The knob and lid on the box in fig. 8.11, for example, are identical to those of the restored reliquary from Bīmarān in the British Museum (fig. 8.17), as in fact are the box shapes themselves. The three vertical cylindrical cosmetic boxes can also be directly compared to similarly shaped reliquaries (cf. figs. 8.13–8.15 with fig. 8.18).[38] The two flattened cylindrical boxes are also a very popular reliquary shape (cf. fig. 8.16 with fig. 8.19). The drawings in fig. 8.20 show the eight Tilya Tepe perfume boxes compared to similar Gandhāran reliquaries.

It appears, therefore, that the Gandhāran use of these boxes for containing relics for deposit may come from the practice of burying cosmetic boxes in royal Kuṣāṇa graves. The relic box shapes were taken directly from those of the cosmetic boxes.[39] It is intriguing to wonder whether the boxes, if they functioned as containers of perfumed substances such as sandalwood paste, ground perfumes, and scented oils, may have been particularly appropriate as containers for the Buddha's relics. Gregory Schopen has pointed out that the word *paribhāvita* – meaning "informed," "parfumée," "saturated," "pervaded," "infused," and "imbued" – is often used in both inscriptions and texts in regard to bringing relics to life.[40] For example, the relics are worth worship-

ping because they have become "infused" with typical Buddhist virtues, or more to the point, with traits of the Buddha, such as wisdom, kindness, and morality. The virtues are, thus, infused into the relics through a process that suggests the way in which scents are infused into substances such as powders or oils, involving both abstract and non-material characteristics embodied in a material matrix. That such a metaphorical link with perfumed scents was actually underlying the relic imagery is made clear by a line Schopen quotes from the *Milindapañha,* to the effect that people who fulfill their ascetic practices are similarly "saturated [*paribhāvito*] with the lovely and excellent unparalleled sweet perfume [*gandha*] of morality."[41]

The aptness of the cosmetic boxes as models for reliquaries is also related to the "perfumed chamber" of the Buddha, the *gandhakuṭī,* the dwelling in which the Buddha lives as noted in texts and inscriptions. As John S. Strong has shown in his study of the use and meaning in texts of the *gandhakuṭī,* it was constructed not only for when the Buddha lived but also for his nirvāṇa afterward, when he was dead and quite literally absent.[42] The construction of the perfumed chamber Strong found in the stories – which involved the use of sweet-smelling substances, primarily flowers, perfumes, and incense – could involve the making of "a space in which the absent Buddha can be present here," in the form of an image or a seat.[43] It is tempting to see in the tiny perfume boxes miniature "perfumed chambers," in which the (equally miniaturized) "absent Buddha can be present here." Furthermore, I suggested that Droṇa might be forming the ash and tiny bone fragments into balls using scented powders and earth, the actual balls represented in numerous Gandhāran reliefs of the relic distribution (for example, fig. 8.1). Such scented earth may well be what turns up repeatedly in relic deposits, including the one discussed here, in which the crystal jars are filled with "finely pulverized earth" (fig. 8.6). Indeed, almost certain evidence of the link between reliquaries and perfume boxes is found in the inscription on the Kaniṣka reliquary mentioned above, as the reliquary itself is called in the inscription a "perfume box" or *gamdha-karamde*.[44]

The Tilya Tepe graves were apparently unmarked, perhaps purposefully to hide them from looters, a strategy that worked up until the present day. The drawing in fig. 8.21 shows the layout of the graves. They were dug into a hill that, unbeknownst to the Kuṣāṇa, had been formed over a much earlier walled city that dated back to 2000 BCE. The graves were extremely simple. The bodies were placed in coffins made of wooden planks held together with iron clamps and set on legs. The coffins had no lids, but were covered with a roof made of wood and hides. I wonder if the use of coffins made of wood and often shown held together with metal (?) clamps as seen in Gandhāran depictions of the Buddha's *parinirvāṇa* relates to such earlier Kuṣāṇa burial

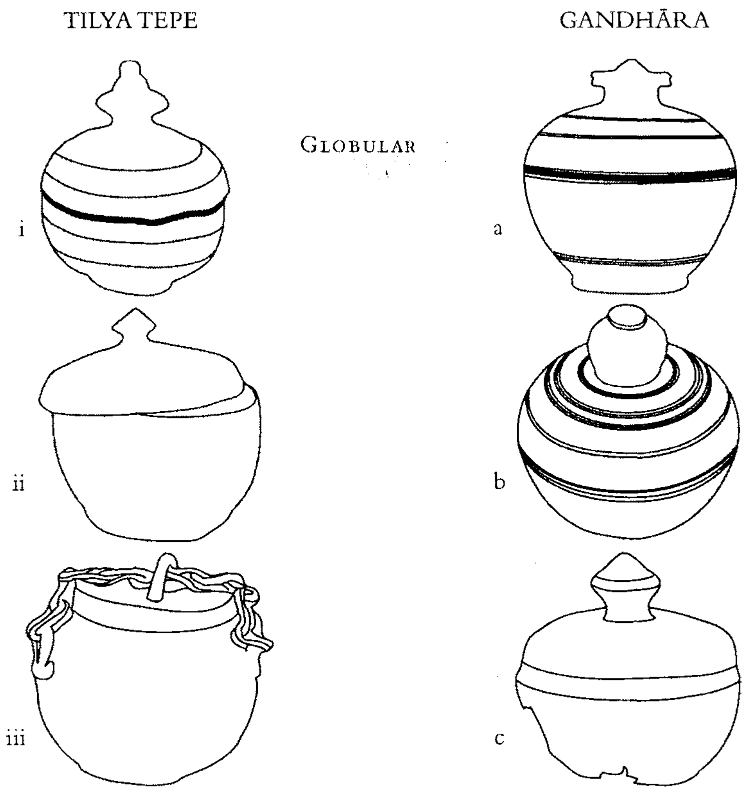
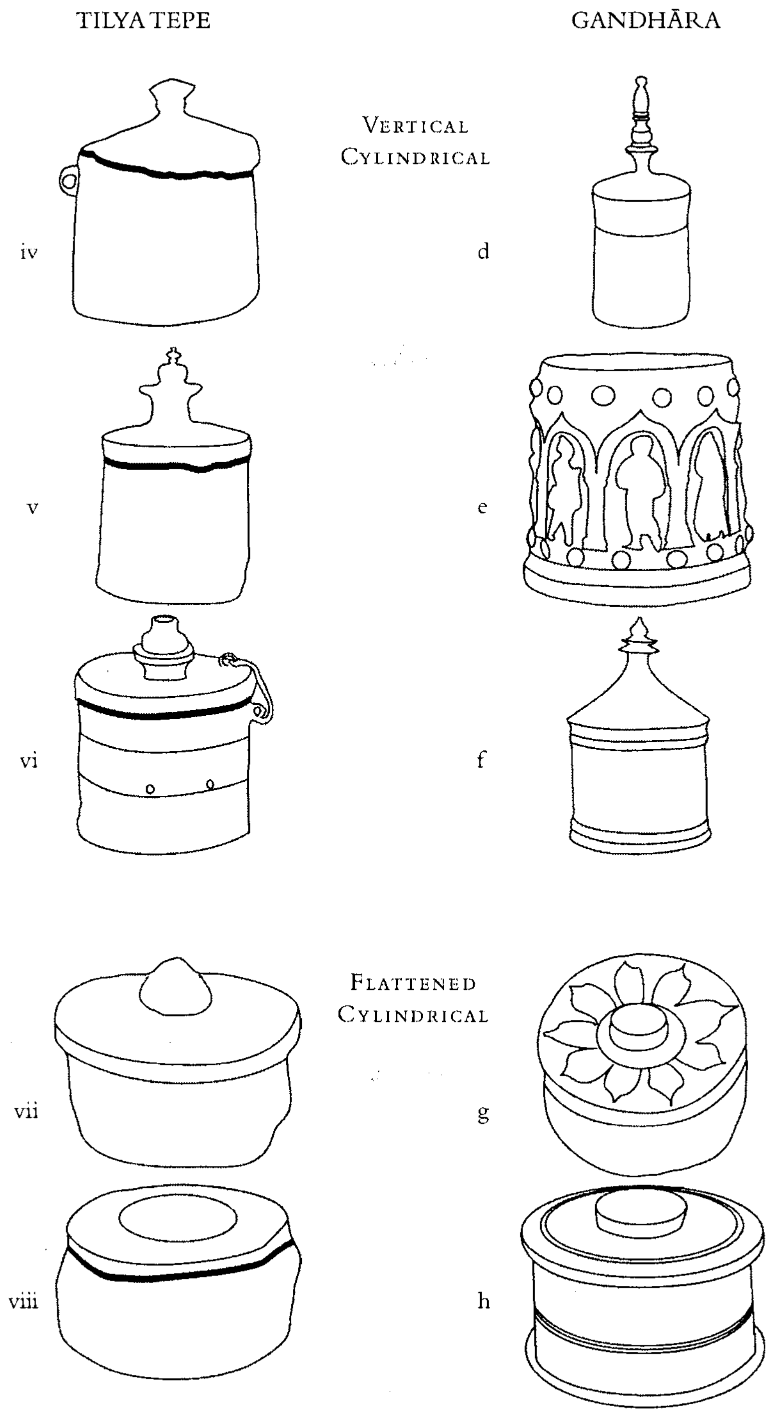


FIGURE 8.20. Shapes of cosmetic boxes from Tilya Tepe (left column, labeled with roman numerals) for comparison with similar shapes of Gandhāran reliquaries (right column, labeled with letters).

KEY

Tilya Tepe Cosmetic Boxes		*Gandhāran Reliquaries*	
i	see fig. 8.10	a	see fig. 8.2
ii	see fig. 8.11	b	see fig. 8.3
iii	see fig. 8.12	c	see fig. 8.17
iv	see fig. 8.13	d	see fig. 8.18, left
v	see fig. 8.14	e	Reliquary. Bīmarān. Gold with garnets, h. 6.5 cm. British Museum (after Errington and Cribb, *Crossroads of Asia,* no. 191).
vi	see fig. 8.15	f	Reliquary. Found inside stūpa-shaped reliquary shown in fig. 8.4. Silver (see Czuma, 82B).
vii	see fig. 8.16, right	g	Reliquary. From Great Stūpa at Manikyala. Gold, dia. 4.4 cm. (see Errington, "Gandhāra Stūpa Deposits," fig. 60).
viii	see fig. 8.16, left	h	see Fig. 8.19.


TILYA TEPE
GANDHĀRA
VERTICAL CYLINDRICAL
iv
d
v
e
vi
f
FLATTENED CYLINDRICAL
vii
g
viii
h

practices. They are even placed on tables with legs.[45] I do not know of any scenes in early Indian art from other locations showing the Buddha in a coffin at his death. Some Gandhāran reliefs show that these coffins were set afire in order to cremate the Buddha.[46] The process of creating a bodily relic through cremation is given a specific and unique form that relates the Gandhāran scenes to the Tilya Tepe coffin burials.

The Tilya Tepe burials thus may help us to understand the nature and character of the Gandhāran Buddhist relic deposits. In short, except for the presence of bodies in the Tilya Tepe burials versus relics in the Gandhāran deposits, we have essentially identical practices: the Buddhist relic deposits are comparable to royal Kuṣāṇa burials without the bodies, or rather with the body reduced to a pinch of ash or sliver of bone which was placed within one of the cosmetic (reliquary) boxes.

When Stan Czuma published the reliquary and its contents noted above he described the contents this way:

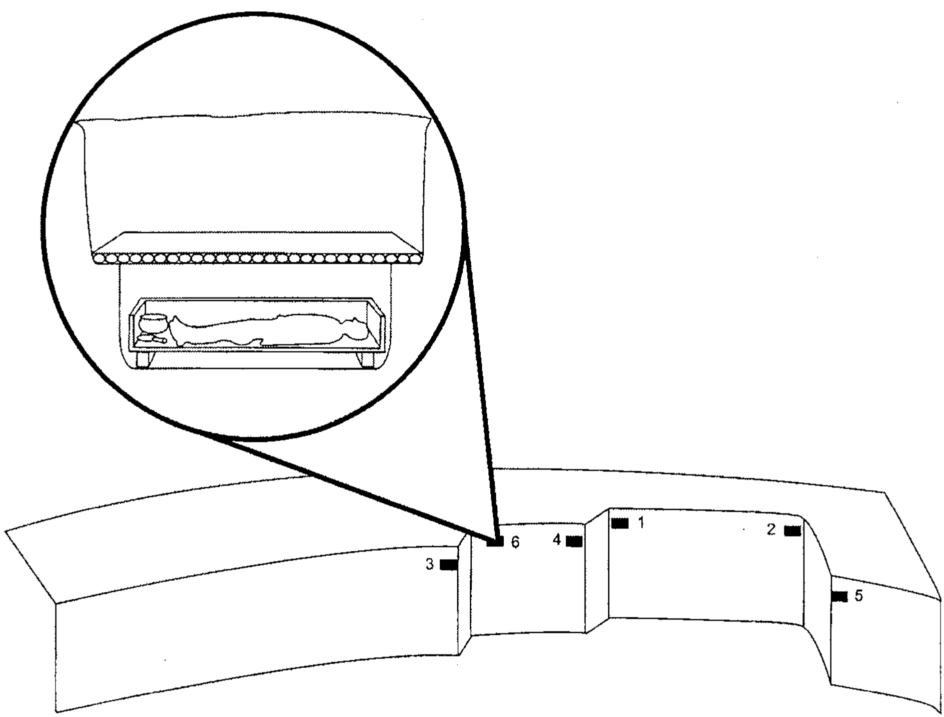


FIGURE 8.21. Drawing of burials at Tilya Tepe (after Sarianidi, "The Golden Hoard of Bactria," illus. on p. 64).

> This reliquary has several rather plain relic boxes ... In addition, another object consists of two doughnut-shaped crystal rings (similar to the earlier Śuṅga fertility rings), two flatter crescents (one of which is gold), and a crystal stopper ... There are other miniature gold boxes, in the shape of a stūpa or a lotus; gold pendants of varying sizes with repoussé designs; and parts of earrings or necklaces, some of which have been decorated with *triratna* symbols. Additional items are rings; beads of different kinds, either loose, some of which were probably used as a rosary; fragments of coral; and a small, square plaque decorated with a couple (possibly the donors) ... Above all, however, there is a profusion of miniature flowers made of thin sheets of gold in repoussé, some with holes in the center, which indicates that they were intended to be threaded as beads.[47]

The description continues; my point is that Czuma wants to understand this disparate and odd mixture of objects through Buddhist or at least religious eyes as much as possible. He has the simple crystal rings relate to Śuṅga fertility rings, the couple on the plaque represent the donors, the beads be part of a rosary, and so forth. Rather, this material might better be regarded as objects of great value used in the decoration of the body, exactly the material that accompanied the Kuṣāṇa royalty to the grave, and for which there is no specific Buddhist meaning. It is the portable valuable treasure that defined the elite of basically nomadic people such as the Kuṣāṇa. The Buddhist identification is there, indicated primarily through the transformation of the body into a relic for worship, necessitating the marking of the internment with a stūpa for all to see, and identifying the relic with an inscription, producing visibly the exact opposite of the hidden and anonymous Tilya Tepe graves.

My conclusion is that we perhaps should consider, for purposes of understanding the physical nature of the Buddha's bodily relics in the Gandhāran context, that the relics are composed of a set of powerful visual images – the reliquaries, the donated treasures, and the inscriptions. The deposited body-relic, whether of ash or bone, was uniformly small and visually unimpressive.[48] Indeed, it apparently was so small that it has been repeatedly overlooked by modern scholars who have opened the reliquaries; or it was never there in the first place, as many of the reliquaries do not contain any identifiable ash or bone. Furthermore, the acquisition of Buddha's relics in Gandhāra was not difficult, and already deposited relics could be taken and redeposited. What was more difficult, and clearly what cost both time and money, was redepositing the relic, a process that involved building the monument and gifting the relic with valuable treasure. It may be that the practice of placing treasure with the dead in the burials at Tilya Tepe was adopted by Buddhists in Gandhāra for the deposit of relics.

I am not arguing that the relic was unimportant in the founding of stūpas in Gandhāra, although it might be considered something of a "virtual relic." Perhaps the process can be compared to making a stew. The stew is composed of a rich array of ingredients – water, vegetables, and meats – but the cook can, by throwing in a pinch of salt, alter the entire mixture, and decidedly for the good. In the same way, the relic flavored the entire enterprise, although like the salt, it could visually disappear altogether. Still, one eats the stew primarily for the other ingredients, not for the salt.

NOTES

1 Beal, *Si-Yu-Ki*, 96.
2 Ibid.
3 The larger bone was used in some way to predict the future. Xuanzang says, "Those who wish to make lucky or unlucky presages [marks] make a paste of scented earth, and impress it on the skull-bone; then, according to their merit, is the impression made." Apparently, the impression could be read in some way to indicate future good or bad luck. Xuanzang notes that people had to pay one gold piece in order to see the bone, but had to pay an extra five pieces to make the impression. Notice also the use of scented earth in this context, in regard to what will be discussed below in the text. See Beal, ibid., 96–97.
4 Or, indeed, elsewhere in India. Although fragments of bone are sometimes (but not often) mentioned as being found within the reliquaries, no large bones have been found. Dobbins says there are about eighty deposits from Gandhāra about which we have information; see Dobbins, "Buddhist Reliquaries from Gandhāra," 105. In his discussion of these deposits, Dobbins mentions bone fragments being found only four times (although he is not intending to be complete in his descriptions, and more may have been found).
5 I am thinking of the story of the stūpa that leaks a black oil because Rahula got caught in the closing of the stūpa. In the story, Rahula obtains the Buddha's relics to put into the stūpa by standing at the city gate until someone walked by with a casket full of them. See Beal, *Si-Yu-Ki*, 60.
6 Ibid., 66.
7 Ibid., 100.
8 There has been an ongoing debate about whether this reliquary was in fact that of King Kaniṣka, with the scholarly opinion tending more, of late, that it was not. See Errington and Cribb, *Crossroads of Asia*, 194–97; and Sadakata, "How to Read the Inscription of the Kanishka Reliquary." I would like to thank Young H. Rhie for translating Sadakata's article into English.
9 Other relics, such as the halo, are represented throughout Indian art, however. Even the topknot, that is, the hair that the Buddha cut off and that became a relic worshipped in Indra's Heaven by the gods (and is probably the first body relic of the Buddha), is represented by the turban, rather than the hair as such. Other body relics, such as the hair the Buddha gave to the merchants at Bodhgayā, or his teeth, are never shown, to my knowledge, in the reliefs.
10 For a typology of the reliquaries see Dobbins, "Buddhist Reliquaries from Gandhāra," 105–24.
11 Errington and Cribb, *Crossroads of Asia*, 186.
12 Dobbins mentions a piece of cloth being found in one reliquary in his "Buddhist Reliquaries from Gandhāra," 115. We know from the Senavarma inscription that decorated

cloth (*paṭṭa*) was sometimes placed over the relic casket; see Bailey, "A Kharoṣṭhī Inscription of Senavarma," 23, also reprinted in Czuma, *Kushan Sculpture*, 168.

13 Salomon and Schopen, "Indravarman (Avaca) Casket Inscription Reconsidered," 108–9.

14 That the stūpa was nearby is suggested by the fact that the relics (*śarīra*) were brought from their initial location to their new location in a procession.

15 Fussman, "Nouvelles Inscriptions Śaka," 5.

16 Fussman, ibid., 18, says: "Ce qualificatif [avec abondance] ferait allusion aux frais engagés par Ramaka, qui ne se limitaient pas forcément à (l'achat?) et au dépot des reliques." But the word (*uḍiteṇa*) being translated as "with abundance" is problematical, and Bailey translated it as "reverently" (?). See Bailey, "Two Kharoṣṭhī Casket Inscriptions from Avaca," 4.

17 Czuma, *Kushan Sculpture*, 165–68.

18 Ibid., illustrations on p. 167.

19 Bailey, "A Kharoṣṭhī Inscription of Senavarma," 21–29; and Czuma, *Kushan Sculpture*, 198–269.

20 This is according to Bailey's translation, the Gāndhārī word being *rayaṇeṇa*. Fussman translates it as "don pieux" in "Documents Epigraphiques Kouchans (III)," 7. See also Salomon, "Inscription of Senavarma."

21 Bailey, "Kharoṣṭhī Inscription of Senavarma," 23. *Ra'aña* comes from *ratanya*, meaning "made of precious stones."

22 Solomon and Schopen, "Indravarman (Avaca) Casket Inscription Reconsidered."

23 It is possible, of course, that they were tossed out at some point.

24 De Marco, "Stūpa as a Funerary Monument."

25 Dehejia, *Discourse in Early Buddhist Art*, fig. 103.

26 The donor of the London stūpa, Kadama, says in the gold leaf inscription noted already: "Now in the Eka-kūṭa ('one-peaked') *stūpa*-monument, of this donator by whom treasure was deposited, by name Kadama, (including others) down to the *mestata* (magnate) Varmasena, the *dharma*-gift was munificent" (in Bailey, "Kharoṣṭhī Inscription of Senavarma," 22). The Prakrit word for "treasure" in the inscription is *rayaṇeṇa*.

27 In this light, the reason Indravarman stressed twice in his reliquary inscription that the relics are "secure" and "deep" might have more to do with the treasure he was depositing along with them rather than the relics themselves. Indeed, he obtained them in the first place from another stūpa. His concern must not have been fear that the relics would be taken, but that the treasure might.

28 Soekmono, *The Javanese Candi*. This is an English translation of his 1974 PhD dissertation written in Indonesian.

29 Kramrisch, *The Hindu Temple*, 226.

30 Actually, they are very close, as they include grains, seeds, and soils, which are important in the *pripih*.

31 Lamb, "Stone Casket from Satingpra," 127; Kramrisch, *The Hindu Temple*.

32 For discussion of these deposit boxes, primarily in a Southeast Asian context, see Quaritch Wales, "Stone Casket from Satingpra"; Lamb, "Stone Casket from Satingpra," 191–95; and O'Connor, "Ritual Deposit Boxes."

33 Their identification as Kuṣāṇa or the Yüeh-chih is that of the Russian excavator of the site, Victor Sarianidi. See, for example, Sarianidi, *Bactrian Gold*, *The Golden Hoard of Bactria*, and "The Golden Hoard of Bactria," with interesting artist's recreations of the dress of the buried people. But the Kuṣāṇa identification of the graves has been challenged by Pugachenkova and Rempel (see Pugachenkova and Rempel, "Gold from Tillia-tepe"), who argue, on the basis of some of the artifacts, that "the relationship of the Tillia-tepe burial ground [is] to Śaka-Parthian culture, rather than to the Yueh-chih-Bactrian" (p. 24). Despite extensive discussion, no particularly persuasive arguments have been made either way, in my opinion, and I have retained Sarianidi's identification of Kuṣāṇa, feeling that

the categories themselves are ambiguous and vague in this context. The people buried at Tilya Tepe had a mixed cultural heritage, with objects reflecting an incredible number of influences and relationships. For my purposes, their identification using specific dynastic labels does not matter. Perhaps they could be considered more broadly as "Scythians."

34 This is the well-known token published by Gérard Fussman, and the subject of my article "The Walking Tilya Tepe Buddha." Also see Fussman, "Numismatic and Epigraphic Evidence," 71–72.

35 This material is illustrated, mainly in colour, in Sarianidi, *Bactrian Gold* and *The Golden Hoard of Bactria.*

36 Sarianidi, *Bactrian Gold,* illus. 1.

37 Pugachenkova and Rempel, "Gold from Tillia-tepe," 13.

38 It is this shape that was used for one of the earliest reliquaries extant, from Bīmarān, which has in relief two of the earliest figural representations of the Buddha as well. See Zwalf, *Catalogue of Gandhāran Sculpture,* vol. 1, colour plate XVI; vol. 2, figs. 659 A 1–4 and B 1–4.

39 This suggests that the inscribed silver reliquary of two kings, Kharaosta and Indravarman, in the form of a drinking cup, may indeed have been intended from its manufacture to be a reliquary and not ever to be used as a cup for wine. The form of the reliquary as a drinking cup led Richard Salomon to wonder why an object like a drinking cup, one that would be quite inappropriate for use as a reliquary, would have been reused for this purpose. See Richard Salomon, "An Inscribed Silver Buddhist Reliquary of the Time of King Kharaosta and Prince Indravarman." One additional problem with such an identification is that the cup has a lid, a feature unique to this vessel, and one that would hardly be needed on a wine cup but is of importance for a reliquary. The point is that if Buddhist reliquaries were being made as copies of cosmetic and perfume boxes, the use of the valuable and beautiful wine cups as models may also have occurred.

40 Schopen, "Burial Ad Sanctos," 125–28.

41 Ibid., 128.

42 Strong, "Gandhakuṭī."

43 Ibid., 395.

44 Errington and Cribb, *Crossroads of Asia,* 197; Sadakata, "How to Read the Inscription of the Kanishka Reliquary," 29.

45 See, for example, Lyons and Ingholt, *Gandhāran Art in Pakistan,* pls. 143 and 144.

46 See, for example, ibid., pls. 146 and 147.

47 Czuma, *Kushan Sculpture,* 167.

48 If not, like Buddha's eye and skull bones noted by Xuanzang, they were not deposited, but available to be seen.

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9 Gateways to the Buddha: Figures under Arches in Early Gandhāran Art

Pia Brancaccio

Depictions of *caitya* arches framing worshippers and representations of the Buddha appear frequently in early Gandhāran reliefs from Swāt. The iconography of these nonnarrative panels, far from being simply ornamental, seems to reveal complex phenomena taking place in the Buddhist centres of the region. In particular, the recurrent depiction of *caitya* arches shows that Indian models were being privileged in the multiethnic Buddhist community of Swāt. The *caitya* arch motif served as a way to trace direct connections between the land where the Buddha lived and the Northwest, where it became emblematically associated with the sacred space of the relic.

A large relief from Butkara I is the most accurate reproduction of a *caitya* doorway that we have from Swāt (fig. 9.1).[1] This panel, dated to the early period of activity at the site, renders the Indian architectural form in great detail.[2] There are projecting brackets under the roof, and the doorjambs are decorated with a wave motif converging on a rosette at the top. The ornamented bentwood crossbeams define two crescent-shaped areas: the one above is decorated with an elaborate honeysuckle palmette and the one below with an open acanthus leaf. In the entrance stands a couple: the woman looks at a mirror, while the bejeweled, turbaned male offers a garland. Both wear Indian outfits and seem to be perfectly in line with the well-known images of loving couples or *mithunas* inexplicably represented on the stūpa *vedikās* throughout the subcontinent.[3]

Although it is impossible to reconstruct the original placement of this relief from Butkara I, the discovery at the site of Marjanai of a series of smaller panels with figures under *caitya* arches sheds light on the function of this kind of imagery (fig. 9.2).[4] The find spot of these reliefs and the presence of Kharoṣṭhī letters on their base fillets, as well as tenons and fittings, would suggest that they were affixed to a stūpa.[5] The *caitya* gateways depicted in the panels from Marjanai are rendered with great faithfulness to architectural prototypes, which is surprising given the small scale of the schist slabs.[6] In the reliefs from Marjanai,



FIGURE 9.1. *Mithuna* under *caitya* arch. Butkara I. Inv. no. 283. Courtesy IsIAO.

as in many comparable friezes from Swāt, the beams intended to support the roof of the *caitya* building are clearly visible.[7] The interior of the arch is lined with screens decorated with rosettes and other interweaving patterns. The jambs slant outwards at the base, and the arch terminates on either side with

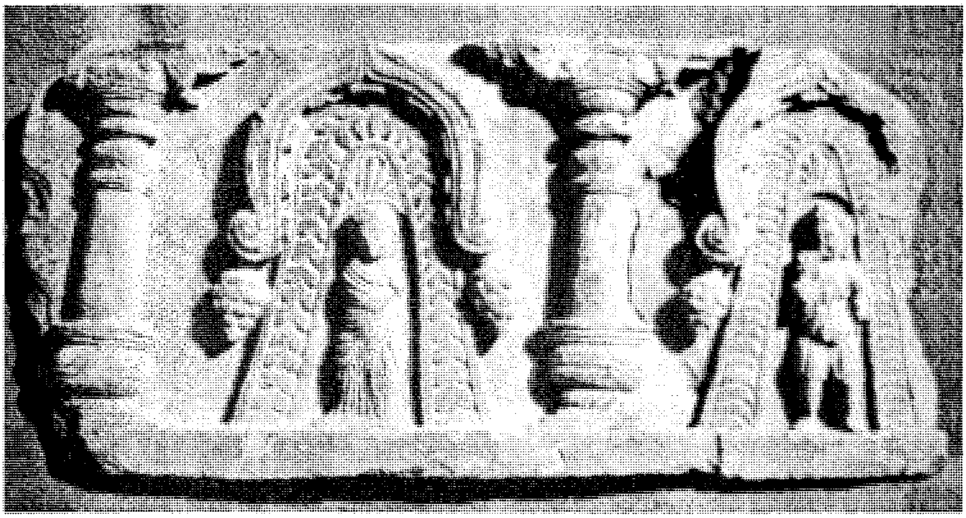


FIGURE 9.2. Figures under *caitya* arches. Marjanai (after Khan, pl.19a).

volutes and hanging pinecones. Bent crossbeams with decorated lunettes also sometimes appear in the reliefs.[8]

Within the *caitya* portals we find different types of figures that include lay and monastic characters and occasionally the Buddha[9] or his symbols such as the tree or the solar disk.[10] These representations of the Tathāgata might have served as focal points toward which the other characters converge.[11] Most of the figures depicted under *caityas* are of this world. They include monks, characters wearing turbans and Indian dress or central Asian outfits, males and females of Classical origin, wandering ascetics, and naked putti, all depicted as if passing through arches in the act of worship.

Surprisingly, the *caitya* does not appear in narrative panels from Swāt depicting scenes from the Buddha's life. However, it seems that this kind of gateway was integrated within the indigenous architectural tradition in conjunction with relic worship. In a relief from Butkara I showing an enshrined stūpa, a *caitya* portal provides access to the structure (fig. 9.3). This panel is not unique – two other comparable depictions of shrines with *caitya* portals from Swāt can be cited.[12] Although *caitya* arches, likely constructed in wood, have not left traces in the archaeological record, buildings for relic worship, to which such portals might have been attached, have been identified and discussed.[13]

In ancient India, wooden buildings with gateways in the shape of *caitya* arches were quite common around the beginning of the current era, as recorded in the reliefs from Bhārhut and Sāñcī (fig. 9.4).[14] *Caitya* gateways also



FIGURE 9.3. Stūpa shrine. Butkara I. Inv. no. 920 (after Faccenna, *Sculptures from the Sacred Area of Butkara I*, vol. 2, pl. 267).

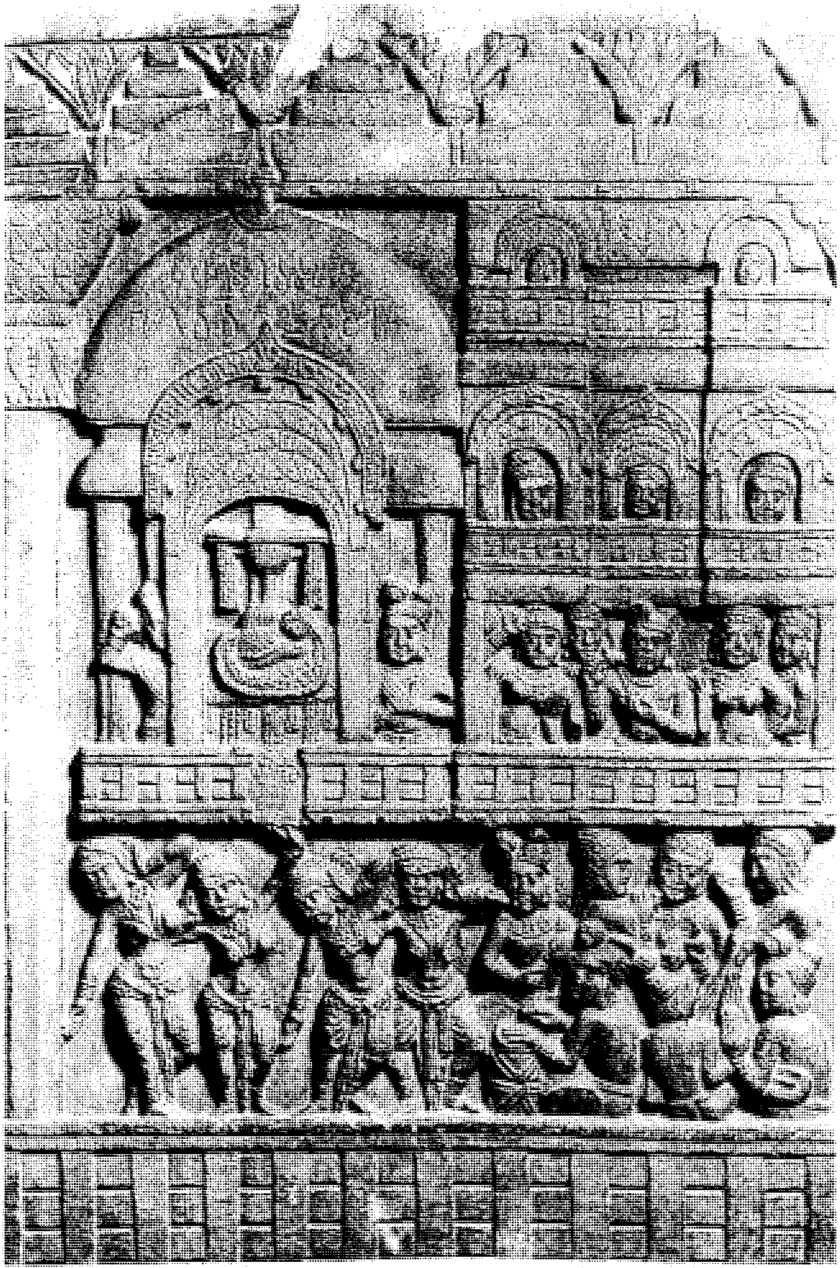


FIGURE 9.4. Worship of the Turban. Bhārhut (after Cunningham, pl. XVI).

provided access into apsidal shrines containing stūpas. The first BCE-CE Buddhist rock-cut structures from Junnar, Bedsa, and Karle in the Western Ghats of Maharashtra are the best surviving examples of apsidal stūpa structures with *caitya* facades. These stone replicas of wooden prototypes appear to preserve faithfully many architectural details.

On the Gandhāran plain two early apsidal halls were excavated at Taxila: the I3 shrine at the Dharmarājikā complex and the large structure in Sirkap block D.[15] The entranceways into these buildings do not survive, but the local artistic evidence suggests that *caitya* doorways were not used in this area. When sacred buildings are represented, the *caitya* form is never shown. In a relief from Mardan, a trapezoidal gate provides access to a shrine probably housing a small stūpa or important relics, much like the one from Butkara I discussed above (fig. 9.3).[16] The archaeological record also confirms that trapezoidal doorways were preferred to Indian *caityas* in this area.[17] In the rich narrative repertoire from the Peshawar plain *caitya* gateways are absent, and in friezes depicting figures under arches, the *caitya* form has been transformed into an abstract and simplified motif indicating lack of familiarity with Indian architectural prototypes.

In contrast, the early artistic evidence from Swāt suggests that *caitya* portals were known in the region. The depiction of a stūpa shrine (fig. 9.3), whether replicating an existing structure or a fictitious one, indicates that *caitya* gateways were associated with worship structures analogous in function to the Buddhist *caitya* halls of western India and to relic buildings portrayed in Bhārhut reliefs. In Swāt, the integration of a nonindigenous form into the local architectural lexicon might be the result of a programmatic choice, the *caitya* entranceway being a way to link the relic shrines from the Northwest to prototypes closer to the Buddha's homeland. The adoption of such models in the art and architecture of Swāt reveals an awareness of Indian artistic traditions that was certainly more pronounced than in other parts of Gandhāra.[18]

The series of panels with *caitya* arches from Marjanai seem to relate stylistically to a group of early sculpture excavated at Butkara I and identified by Domenico Faccenna as belonging to the "drawing group."[19] It has been pointed out that this early sculptural production possibly depended on Indian visual forms from the Śuṅga period.[20] Thus, the diffusion of images under *caitya* arches further testifies to the presence of an established Indian cultural milieu in Swāt, where Buddhist artists were familiar with Indian art related to that of Bhārhut or early Sāñcī.

The cultural diversity of Swāt, generally considered a provincial region of Greater Gandhāra, should not come as a surprise. The different ethnicities of devotees appearing under *caitya* gates suggest the existence of international lay patronage in this region, where traders from India, the Near East, and

central Asia converged. This might account for the diffusion of foreign forms in the Swāt valley, which was part of a network of trade roads[21] and played a pivotal role as an early Buddhist centre looking toward India. Given that the reliefs with figures under *caityas* were attached to small stūpas sponsored by wealthy individuals as attestations of private devotion, it is possible that the characters shown make reference to the cultural matrix of the various donors at the sites and to the limitless extension of the Buddha's message.

The devotees depicted under the Indian gateways are mostly in *añjalimudrā* or hold offerings. They do not stand immobile, but are passing through the doorways in the act of worship (fig. 9.5). This may affirm that the *caitya* arch, far from being just an exotic decorative motif, was used in the art of Swāt to represent a shrine gateway that one should enter to worship the Buddha's relics. These panels show clear connections with images found on the *vedikās* from Bhārhut, where devotees are depicted engaged in *pradakṣiṇa* around relic monuments and passing through *caitya* doorways (fig. 9.4). At Bhārhut narrative emphasis is placed on the actual worship process, while in Swāt the gateway appears to be emblematic of relic devotion.

The depictions of *caitya* portals in Swāt were always placed on stūpas, and it can be suggested that they provided metaphoric entranceways to the relic. The gateways seem to indicate the sacred threshold and to mark the relic's realm, much like the *vedikās* encircling Indian stūpas. Foreign worshippers, ascetics, female figures, garland holders, and loving couples appear under the *caityas* in the Swāti reliefs, much as they do on Indian *vedikās*. Such characters can be found at Bhārhut, Sāñcī II, and Sāñcī I on the *vedikā* or on the gates, both in narrative contexts and as independent images. Examples can also be cited from the Kuṣāṇa period in Mathurā, and at Sanghol.[22] The consistent presence of these iconographic types on enclosures marking the sacred domain of the relics would seem to confirm that the Swāti motif of figures under arches also functioned as liminal imagery in connection with the stūpa.

Vertical reliefs from Butkara I with figures under *caitya* gateways (fig. 9.6) seem to corroborate the liminal function of the arch iconography. Although the precise function of these reliefs is unknown, they appear to be on jambs of doorways that served as sacred thresholds. Such architectural elements are part of false gables, framing complex assemblages of panels focusing on the Buddha image and important life events (fig. 9.7). The false gables were part of the stūpa decoration, being prominently placed on the front of the relic structure, as seen in numerous reliefs.[23] Configured like doorways, these panels appear to have functioned as metaphoric gateways to the stūpa, visually more sophisticated than the simple *caityas* discussed above. The false-gable format might have developed from the repetitive figure-under-arch motif—a focal *caitya* with the Buddha image being privileged and emphasized as the



FIGURE 9.5. Figure in Classical dress under *caitya* arch. Butkara I. Inv. no. 3626. Courtesy IsIAO.

visual focus for the stūpa. The expanded frame of the *caitya* from Butkara I accommodates three sets of figures in devotion to the Buddha, as well as the alms bowl and turban relics.

Gateways of different types also make an appearance on the Double-Headed Eagle stūpa in Sirkap. They are depicted on the west side of the square plinth of this monument, which dates to the beginning of the current era and thus is chronologically related to the Swāti material.[24] This unique example from



FIGURE 9.6. Vertical relief depicting figures under *caitya* arches. Butkara I. Inv. no. 3549. Courtesy IsIAO.



FIGURE 9.7. False gable. Butkara I. Inv. no. 1550. Courtesy IsIAO.

Taxila shows that at the beginning of the Gandhāran tradition realistic representations of *caitya* gateways were associated with stūpas and relics. In this example the sculpted doorways replicate a Classical triangular pediment, a *caitya* arch, and a *toraṇa* of the type seen at Bhārhut or Sāñcī. Decorating only the front of the structure or the side where the staircase provides access to the plinth, the blind doorways appear to have worked as symbolic gateways to the

stūpa. As in Swāt, where depictions of *caitya* portals hinted both at relic worship and at the geographic milieu of India, the diverse doorways on the Double-Headed Eagle stūpa probably had a similar function. They might have been references to foreign places perhaps familiar to the devotees, and it is even possible to speculate that images of worshippers from different regions, or Buddhist symbols, were depicted under these doorways as in Swāt.

The representation of the *caitya* on the Double-Headed Eagle stūpa is atypical – in the Peshawar basin and Taxila, an arcade-pattern consisting of a porchlike series of pointed arches supported by pillars is preferred. The arcade is illustrated well in a relief from the Dharmarājikā complex (fig. 9.8), which seems to date to an early phase of Gandhāran production.[25] Although this motif vaguely recalls the gateway sequences from Swāt, it is evident that the porchlike structure derives from very different architectural notions. Representations of such arcades seem to be rooted in the Western tradition, particularly Parthian.[26] This motif seem to have embellished small stūpas much like the Swāti examples, suggesting a similar function. The presence of a fully developed ogive arcade on the Bīmarān reliquary, whatever its date may be, confirms that the arcade, although etymologically different from the Indian *caitya,* was also associated with the relic.[27]



FIGURE 9.8. Arcade with worshippers. Dharmarājikā, Taxila (after Marshall, pl. 217, no. 78).

Through time, with the creation of a mature Gandhāran koine, incorporating and re-elaborating diverse regional idioms, the *caitya* motif and the arcade appear to have merged together, losing their original architectural connotations. In most of these conflated depictions from both the Gandhāran plains and Swāt, the *caitya* motif appears extremely simplified: the characters depicted have no specific identity and the repeated *caityas* turn into generic gates/arches, as the intention to depict actual architectural prototypes fades. This trend is exemplified by the decoration of the stūpa relief from Sikri, where generic putto-like offerers appear in the top register under repeated arches vaguely resembling *caityas*.

The arch iconography continued to appear in renovated forms within the later stūpa decorations from Gandhāra, when stucco largely replaced schist and iconic imagery superseded narrative. A good example is the ornamentation on small stūpas such as the D1, D2, D3, and D4 from the site of Jauliāñ in Taxila, where series of Buddhas and bodhisattvas appear under various types of arches. This pattern of Buddhas seated under trapezoidal and trilobe frames echoes the earlier figure-under-arch motif popular in various forms throughout Greater Gandhāra. The relic association of the pattern survived intact. However, the different arches hinting at regional architectural types have been transformed into a purely ornamental motif suitable for hosting Buddha icons. The lay figures and worship scenes found in earlier schist reliefs seem to have completely disappeared.

This brief survey of the regional and chronological variants of the arch motif, while not pretending to be exhaustive, contributes to a better definition of the complex cultural matrix of Gandhāran art. The Indian grammar of the *caitya* reproduced in the early art from Swāt, and its association with relic structures, would suggest that in the early phase of Buddhist activity, this region was familiar with North Indian visual models. The depiction of multiethnic characters under the *caitya* motif would reinforce the idea of a cosmopolitan Swāt. Finally, the continued popularity of the arch iconography as marking the relics' sacred threshold and the merging of Indian *caitya* types with Western arcades illustrates well the role that regional trends had in the formation of a mature Gandhāran art.

NOTES

1 This panel measures 53 cm in height and 34 cm in width; Faccenna, *Sculptures from the Sacred Area of Butkara I*, vol. II.3, 166.

2 For the dating of this relief and related sculpture, see Faccenna, "Some Problems of Gandhāran Art and Architecture." For a discussion of the chronological issues regarding the relief see also Taddei, "Flaming Buddha and His Devotees" and "Some Remarks on the Preliminary Reports Published on the Shnaisha Excavation, Swāt."

3 Fischer, "Hidden Symbolism in *Stūpa*-Railing Reliefs" and "How Were Love Scenes on Gandhāran *Stūpas* Understood?"
4 Khan, "Preliminary Report of Excavations at Marjanai," 20–23, pl. 16a.
5 The reliefs were found lying around the small stūpa no. 3 within a shrine. The excavator records that an iron nail used to secure the sculpture to the stūpa was still attached to one of the panels (Khan, ibid., 10). Comparable stūpa reliefs have been excavated at the site of Shnaisha in Swāt: Rahman, "Shnaisha Gumbat," pls. XLIX a, b; L a. They have been also discussed in Taddei, "Some Remarks on the Preliminary Reports Published on the Shnaisha Excavation, Swāt."
6 For a discussion of *caitya* type doorways see Davidson, "Begram Ivories and Indian Stones."
7 For examples where beams are visible in the reliefs see the Butkara I fragments in Faccenna, *Sculptures from the Sacred Area of Butkara I,* vol. II.3, fig. 2, pl. CLXVI, fig. 9, pls. DCLXIXb, DCLXVIb, DCLXVIIIa,b, DCLXVIIa, DCLXXa. In addition, the following unpublished pieces from the Italian archaeological excavations in Swāt can be referenced: B I 2618, 4258, 6505, 7459 (also from Butkara I); P 387 from Panṛ; and V1221 (provenance unknown). Other examples appear in Taddei, "Flaming Buddha and His Devotees," and in the excavation reports of Andandheri and Ramora by Dani, "Excavation at Andandheri."
8 This particular pattern appears in several reliefs from Swāt; Faccenna, *Sculptures from the Sacred Area of Butkara I,* vol. II.3, pls. CLXVI, DCLXIXb, DCLXVIIIa. It also appears in several unpublished pieces from Butkara I and Saidu Sharif I: B I 255, 310, 744, 800, 890, 1163, 2626b, 3030, 6505, 7459, 8085; S 356 (from Saidu I). See also Taddei, "Flaming Buddha and His Devotees," fig. 3, and Khan, "Preliminary Report of Excavations at Marjanai, Swāt," pls. 19–23.
9 See, for example, Taddei, "Flaming Buddha and His Devotees," fig. 3; Khan, "Preliminary Report of Excavations at Marjanai," pls. 19–23; Mizuno and Higuchi, *Thareli,* pl. 120.8.
10 Khan, "Preliminary Report of Excavations at Marjanai," pl. 19b; Faccenna, *Sculptures from the Sacred Area of Butkara I,* vol. II.3, pl. DCLXX. See also the unpublished relief from Butkara I, no. BI 3030.
11 Taddei, "Flaming Buddha and His Devotees," 45.
12 Related to this image is a relief from Gumbatuna depicting a shrine with a closed door. This panel is now in the Swāt Museum and is discussed in Faccenna, *Saidu Sharif I, 2,* vol. 2, pl. 284c. Another comparable relief, likely from Swāt, is in the Philadelphia Museum of Art (1999-150-115).
13 Behrendt, "Relic Shrines of Gandhāra," Chapter 4 in this volume.
14 This particular depiction from Bhārhut represents the worship of the turban in heaven. However, the building in which the relic is deposited is not that celestial: it follows the architectural type ubiquitously represented in the reliefs from the site.
15 For the I3 shrine see Marshall, *Taxila,* vol. 1, 254–55; vol. 3, pl. 45. For the apsidal hall in block D of Sirkap see ibid., vol. 1, 150–52; vol. 3, pls. 24, 26.
16 The Mardan relief, published by Foucher in his *L'Art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra,* vol. 1, fig. 41, is now lost. A similar shrine is represented on an image pedestal illustrated in Ingholt, *Gandhāran Art in Pakistan,* pl. 469.
17 For example, they are found in situ at Jauliāñ, providing access into the monastic cells; see Marshall, *Taxila,* vol. 1, 380; vol. 3, pl. 102b.
18 Taddei, "Recent Archaeological Research in Gandhāra," Chapter 2 in this volume.
19 Faccenna, "Some Problems of Gandhāran Art and Architecture."
20 Taddei, "Recent Archaeological Research in Gandhāra."
21 Neelis, "Kharoṣṭhī and Brāhmī Inscriptions from Hunza-Haldeikish," 914–18.
22 Gupta, "Sanghol."
23 See, for instance, the reliefs published in Faccenna, *Saidu Sharif I, 2,* vol. 2, pls. 275a, b, c, d, 274b, 275a, 276c, 277a.

24 Marshall, *Taxila,* vol. 1, 163–64; vol. 3, pl. 28. For the dating of Taxila see Erdosy, "Taxila."

25 Carter, "Reappraisal of Bimaran Reliquary," 82.

26 Ibid., 78–79. The origin of the arcade motif has also been debated by scholars trying to date the Bīmarān reliquary; see Rowland, "Gandhāra and the Early Christian Art."

27 For a brief overview of the various chronological issues related to the Bīmarān reliquary see Carter, "Reappraisal of Bimaran Reliquary," 71–76. For a complete bibliography of the secondary literature on the Bīmarān reliquary, see Zwalf, *Catalogue of Gandhāra Sculpture,* vol. 2, 348–50.

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10 A Gandhāran Relief with Two Scenes from Buddha's Life

ANNA MARIA QUAGLIOTTI

Of the Gandhāran reliefs, one particularly interesting specimen is the fragment of the drum of a stūpa belonging to a private collection and published by Kurita.[1] The fragment shows a series of scenes on two superimposed bands. The upper band displays four Buddhas seated in *dhyānāsana,* each between two personages kneeling in *añjalimudrā;* the groups are separated from each other by Corinthian pilasters on a plain fillet. On the lower band we see two scenes delimited by framed Corinthian columns on a base moulding. The relief on the left depicts the birth of the Buddha, in accordance with the normal iconography, as exhibited, e.g., in relief no. OA 1880-62 in the British Museum, from Jamāl Gaṛhī.[2]

The relief on the right, on which this discussion will focus, shows two female figures crowned with wreaths of interwoven flowers, seated on either side of a stand. Each figure is seated in *pralambāsana* on a low stool and faces in the direction of the stand, which forms the axis of the composition. To the far left we see a tree, and between it and the stool of the figure on the left is an object with a rounded end (perhaps a branch of the tree?). The figure on the left holds a handled mirror in her left hand, and the one on the right bears in both hands something that might be a curved object or the end of a garland.

Mirrors, such as the one held by the figure on the left of our relief, have been depicted in Indian art from its very beginnings. We may cite as an example a medallion from Bhārhut on which the female figure shown in bust length holds a handled mirror in her left hand, her right hand raised to touch her hair.[3] Mirrors are often depicted in "genre" scenes, as for example on certain Begram ivories, like the coffer top showing two female figures, one seated in toilet preparation holding a mirror in her left hand, or again in the case of two female figures depicted below a *toraṇa,* in which the figure on the right also holds a handled mirror in her left hand.[4] Among the various sculptures in the round we may cite the seated female figure on the railpost from

Govindnagar, dating to the Kuṣāṇa period, holding the same type of mirror in her left hand while raising the index finger of her right hand to touch her right cheek,[5] and the two standing female figures from Sanghol, performing similar gestures and holding mirrors – one with a handle, one without – in their left hands.[6]

In the narrative art of Gandhāra, we have the mirror features in the following scenes:

The Temptations by Māra's Daughters

1.1 – Peshawar Museum relief no. 353/new no. 53, from Bau Darra Kharki.[7] Of Māra's daughters, the one standing to the immediate right of the Buddha holds a handled mirror in her left hand while touching her cheek with the index finger of her right hand, in accordance with the iconography described above in the Govindnagar and Sanghol sculptures.

1.2 – Relief from a Japanese private collection showing two scenes.[8] From right to left, the first depicts Siddhārtha approaching the *bodhi*-tree, the second depicts Māra's Temptations. In the latter, Māra's three daughters appear on the right, one in the background, the second touching the hair (?) of the third, who is seated before a table upon which a mirror and an ointment bowl are displayed.

Nanda's Conversion

2.1 – Relief no. OA 1900.5-22.1 in the British Museum.[9] This most famous depiction of this episode[10] shows Nanda's wife or fiancée seated and looking at herself in a mirror depicted beside the unguent box on the table.

2.2 – Relief in the Indian Museum, no. A23278/6G. 88/GD 42, from Jamāl Gaṛhī (Kurita 1988, fig. 326).[11] Under a trapezoidal roof supported by columns with Corinthian capitals and base mouldings, a seated female figure holds a handled mirror in her left hand while her right hand reaches to touch a bowl for oil or ointments held by a serving maid standing to her right. To her left we see another standing figure – probably also female – holding an object with a curved end in each hand, touching the hair of the seated figure with it. In the palace superstructure, three women watch from the balcony, the one on the right again holding a handled mirror.

2.3 – Relief acc. no. 62.27 in the National Museum of New Delhi.[12] On the left side of the relief Sundarī is shown seated, surrounded by serving maids. To her immediate left one of the maids stands over her, touching her plaited hair (?) with her right hand; in her left hand the maid seems to be holding the end of a stick (?). To the left of Sundarī stands a second maid holding with both hands (?) a handled mirror seen from the side and pointing toward the princess, at whose feet kneels a third maid of diminuive proportions. According

to S.P. Gupta, the last maid is preparing the paste used for dressing of the hair.[13]

2.4 – *Relief from Karachi antiquarian market (Quagliotti 2000-2001, pl. IIIb).* The possibility cannot be ruled out that this relief depicted a similar scene. Of the relief only the left side remains, showing a female figure seated to the right with a mirror in her left hand. A serving woman stands to her left, apparently combing her hair, but we cannot tell from the photographic evidence whether it is the end of a curved lock of hair she holds in her left hand or a long curved comb of the type seen in the Indian Museum relief. Two more female figures appear in the background, the one to the right holding in her raised hand what looks like a bowl of some sort, now almost completely destroyed, and a slightly curved object (?) in her left hand.

2.5 – *Relief No. 737 in the Bharat Kala Bhavan Museum, Varanasi.* The description of item 2.4 also applies to this item (fig. 10.1). Here, as in the previous case, the serving woman standing on the left behind Sundarī grasps a lock of hair in her left hand while she dresses Sundarī's long hair with an implement held in the right hand.



FIGURE 10.1. Drawing of a scene from Buddha's life, detail. Bharat Kala Bhavan, Varanasi. no. 737 (after Tissot, pl. 38, 8).

Outside Gandhāra, of the production from later centuries we may mention here the painting in Cave XVI in Ajantā depicting the episode in which the second figure to the right of the sinking Sundarī holds a long stick with a curved end.[14] According to Schlingloff, the artists painting Cave XVI were depicting the version of the legend by Aśvaghoṣa, which relates how Sundarī, on hearing that her husband had become a monk, "screamed loudly like a cow-elephant stricken to the heart with a poisoned dart."[15]

The story of Sundarī is not mentioned in the *Lalitavistara*, the *Mahāvastu*, nor the *Buddhacarita*. As noted by Foucher: "les textes du Sud [reference is to the *Nidānakathā*] ajoutent ... que, ce jour-là, le bon Nanda devait être nommé héritier présomptif, se marier et prendre la crémaillère, si bien que le Bienheureux aurait troublé trois fêtes à la fois. Mais, d'ordinaire, on nous donne Nanda comme déjà marié à la plus belle femme du pays: qu'elle fût son épouse ou sa fiancée, il était en sa compagnie au moment où le Buddha l'ammène à sa suite."[16] In the *Nidānakathā* we read the following: "On the next day the festivals of the coronation, and of the housewarming, and of the marriage of Nanda, the king's son, were being celebrated all together. But the Buddha went to his house, and gave him his bowl to carry. [Nanda followed the Buddha] ... The bride Janapada Kalyāṇī [i.e. Sundarī], seeing the young man go away, gazed wonderingly at him, and cried out, 'My Lord, whither go you so quickly?'"[17]

Among the other texts, we know from the *Dhammapada* commentary that Siddhārtha's conversion of Nanda took place while "the ceremonies of Prince Nanda's sprinkling, house-warming, and marriage were in progress," and that Janapada-Kalyāṇī, "with tears streaming down her face and hair half-combed," ran after him.[18]

We also read of this in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* commentary, where Nanda tells the Buddha that when he left the mansion Janapada Kalyāṇī's hair was half-combed.[19]

And again, in the *Saṃgāmāvacara Jātaka* we read that when Nanda left his home Janapada Kalyāṇī was looking out of the window with her hair half-combed.[20]

From the *Za bao zang jing* (a Chinese translation from 472 CE of the *Samyuktaratnapiṭaka sūtra*, the original of which is lost) we learn that when the Buddha arrived at Nanda's dwelling, he found him "occupé avec sa femme à preparer du fard parfumé pour l'appliquer entre les sourcils de celle-ci; il entendit le Buddha à la porte et voulut sortir pour regarder dehors; sa femme lui fit cette recommandation: 'Sortez pour voir le Tathâgata; mais, comme le fard qui est sur mon front n'est pas encore sec, revenez au bout d'un instant.'"[21]

The story of Sundarī was also related at length by Aśvaghoṣa in his poem *Saundarānanda Kāvya*, where mention is made of the mirror.[22]

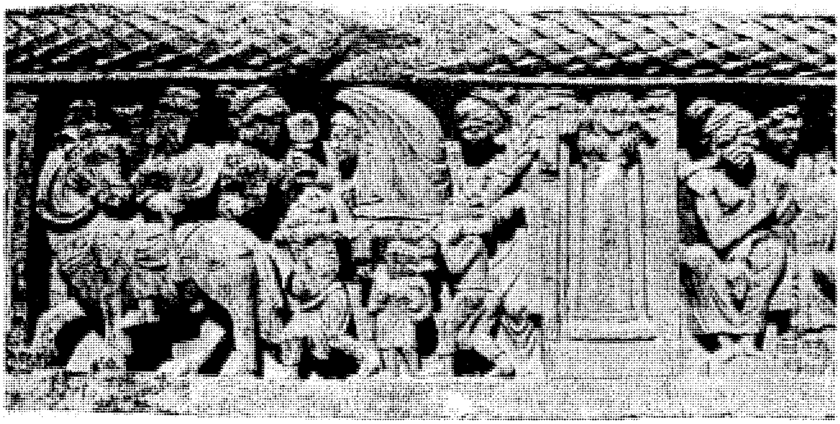


FIGURE 10.2. Two scenes from Buddha's life. Butkara I. Inv. no. 4016 (after Faccenna, 2, pl. LXLa).

The Bridal Procession

3.1 – Relief inv. no. 4016 from Butkara 1, Museo Nazionale d'Arte, Rome.[23] From right to left, the relief (fig. 10.2) represents two scenes: the Announcement of Choice of Siddhārtha's Bride (?), and the Bridal Procession. In the second scene, Yaśodharā is conveyed in a covered litter to Siddhārtha's house. A female figure holds before her a flower and a handled mirror in her right and left hands, respectively.

3.2 – Relief from Taxila, Karachi Museum.[24] Here Yaśodharā, riding in a palanquin, is hidden from view. On the far right, behind the palanquin, two female figures follow, the one in the foreground carrying a spouted water-jug and the one in the background holding a mirror in her left hand, seen edge-on.

Outside the narrative context, we shall consider two reliefs from Butkara 1:

4.1 – False gable in the shape of a carinated arch, inv. no. 283, Museo Nazionale d'Arte, Rome, with two standing figures: a turbaned man on the left offers a necklace to a woman who holds a handled mirror in her left hand (see fig. 10.1 above).[25] The female figure is portrayed in the act of arranging another garland on her hair. According to the catalog, "The gift of a mirror, put in the bride's left hand, is part of the *vivāha-saṃskāra:* it is therefore possible that a marriage is the subject of this scene."[26] As Gonda pointed out: "The following ceremonies ... are partly preliminary or preparatory, partly central and essential ... and partly subsequent to the main rites ... The bride is washed up to her head with fragrant water ... and besprinkled ...; a *puṇyā* is performed for her ...; 4 or 8 women perform a dance ...; the bridegroom gives her a garment ... a porcupine quill, a string of three threads and a mirror and anoints

her."[27] The *Gṛhya sūtra* by Śāṇkhāyana has this to say about certain parts of the nuptial rites:

> The bridegroom, who has bathed and for whom auspicious ceremonies have been performed, gives her [i.e., to the bride] her garment with (the verse), "The Raibhl was." With (the verse), "Mine was the cushion" he takes up the salve-box. The verse for the anointing is, "May the Viśva devas anoint (or, unite). As this (has protected) Śakhî the beloved one, and Aditi the mother of noble sins, and Apâlâ who was free from widowood, may it thus here protect thee, N.N.!" – with these words (the bridegroom) gives her into her right hand the quill of a porcupine (and) a string of three twisted threads, with the verse, "shape by shape" a mirror into the left.[28]

4.2 – Museo Nazionale d'Arte Orientale, Rome, relief inv. no. 3216.[29] This relief (fig. 10.3) is described thus in the catalog:

> Fragment of a relief in the shape of a carinated arch. Inside the arch there are a male and a female figure, standing, turned to the right. The woman seems to be picking up something from a tray held by her companion ... the woman ... holds a handled round mirror in her left hand ... The gesture of the male figure may be that of offering the ritual food to the bride.[30]

As I see it, rather than taking the ritual food offered by her bridegroom, the bride would appear to be taking a sort of balm to anoint her hair.

At this point we may draw some preliminary conclusions. In the art of Gandhāra, the mirror is featured in the narrative episodes of the Temptation, the Bridal Procession, and Nanda's Conversion. However, the scenes depicted in the reliefs we are concerned with here have nothing to do with these episodes, because they show an episode coming immediately before, not after, the birth of the Buddha.

Before moving on to consider the other possibilities, I should like to spend a few words on the curved object held by the serving maid in the image listed above as item 2.2 (we cannot tell whether the stick in item 2.3 was curved, as only the lower part of the shaft can be seen).

Outside the Gandhāran world, the implement has been found – this time with the curved end turned downwards – on a relief from Amarāvatī in the Madras Government Museum with Śuddhodana's Visit to Māyā in the Aśoka Wood, thus preceding the episode of the Birth. As I have demonstrated elsewhere,[31] this relief also cannot be associated with the relief we are concerned



FIGURE 10.3. Two figures, the female one with a mirror. Butkara I. Inv. no. 3216 (after Faccenna, 2, pl. XLVIIIa).

with here, because the latter lacks any evidence that might serve to identify the scene as Śuddhondana's Visit.

Sivaramamurti described the Amarāvatī relief as follows: "crossbar ... showing a lady seated ... with a number of women around her, some attending to her toilet and dressing her hair, some rubbing her feet and yet others with a

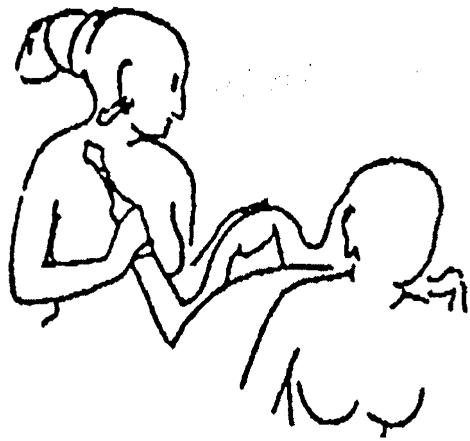


FIGURE 10.4. Drawing of Śuddhodana's visit in the Aśoka wood, detail. Government Museum Madras (after Sivaramamurti, *Amaravati Sculptures in the Madras Government Museum*, pl IX. 10).

tray full of offerings for her. One of the women is selecting jewels for her from a casket and one immediately to the back holds a cornucopia."[32] Śuddhodana is depicted standing on the right under an umbrella and turned toward the seated Māyā, who is surrounded by handmaids. One of these maids stands immediately behind the queen, dressing her hair with an object exhibiting a curved end (fig. 10.4).

This last object prompted some interesting observations from Sivaramamurti, who writes: "[the comb] is the *phaṇaka* so called because of its shape approximating to that of a snake's hood and explained by Buddhaghosha as made of ivory or other material. The comb plies best in a volume of hair ... The Jatakas mention that perfumed coconut oil was applied to the hair before it was arranged. A *sthāsaka* or pot containing the oil ... is the *udakatelaka* for smoothing the hair. Pomade was also used and it was called *sitthatelaka*."[33] When I had the opportunity to discuss this chapter with Oskar von Hinüber, he kindly wrote to me (letters dated 7 February and 21 March 2000) that he had checked the term *phaṇaka* in the *Samantapādikā*. Here is the text, followed by von Hinüber's translation from his correspondence:

> *kocchena osaṇhentī*'ti kocchena olakkhitvā sannisīdā penti. *phaṇakenā*'ti dantamayā dīsu yena kenaci. *hatthapaṇakenā*'ti hatten' eva phaṇakiccaṃ karontā aṅgulīhi osaṇhenti. *sitthatelakenā*'ti madhusitthakaniyā sā dīsu yena kenaci cikkalena. *udakatelakenā*'ti udakamissakena telena. maṇḍanatthā ya sabattha dukkaṭam. uddhaggā ni pana lomā ni anulomanipā tanatthaṃ

> hatthaṃ temetvā sī saṃ puñchitabbaṃ. uṇhā bhitattarajassirā naṃ pi allahatthena puñcituṃ vaṭṭati."[34]
>
> Sie glätten mit einem Kamm heibt: Mit einem Kamm herunterdrückend (read: *olikkhitv* ...) bringen sie die Haare zum liegen. Mit einem Haarglätter (*hatthapha³akena*) heibt: indem sie die Hand als Haarglätter benutzen glätten sie mit den Fingern. Mit Bienenwachs heibt: mit irgeneiner zähen Flüssigkeit wie Bienenwachs, Harz usw. Mit wässerigem Öl, das mit Wasser vermischt ist. Wenn es zum Zweck des Schmückens geschieht, liegt überall ein Dukkata-Vergehen vor. Um aber zu Berge stehende Haare mit dem Strich zu glätten, ist der Kopf zu reiben, nachdem man eine Hand mit Wasser angefeuchtet hat. Es ist auch erlaubt, einen von Hitze geplagten oder verschmutzten Kopf mit einen feuchten Hand zu reiben.

So, the *phanaka* does not appear to be a comb (which is called *koccha* in Pāli) but rather an object of considerably greater size used to smooth down the hair, a task that can also be performed with the hand. For the sake of convenience, however, we shall continue to call it a "comb"; it was in any case used in female hair-dressing, as in the Gandhāran relief from Jamāl Gaṛhī (listed above as item 2.2).

Let us now go on to the mirror. In ancient India, it was not used in the wedding ceremony alone: "the young man liked to hold his mistress against him ... attaching her bracelets and necklaces, braiding her long tresses with garlands and with strings of jewellery, carefully making the central parting (*sīmanta*) which divided her hair, and personally painting between her eyebrows the mark (*tilaka*) which signified that her toilet was complete. He liked also to surprise her while she was sitting in front of her mirror."[35] As we saw above, the mirror features in portrayals of Māra's daughters, who tempted Siddhārtha with their charms but never became his brides.

With regard to the reliefs of Nanda's Conversion, Foucher remarks that it hardly matters whether Sundarī, as portrayed in art, was Nanda's wife or fiancée at the time of the episode.[36] As we have seen, she is always depicted inside a building, so the idea that Sundarī might not already being wedded to Nanda in these reliefs seems strange to me. The texts tell us of marriage and entry into the mansion taking place on the same day (although this is not so in the northern tradition) and, as we know, the entry of the bride and the groom into their future house was one of the most important parts of the wedding ritual.

In none of the Gandhāran reliefs do we see Nanda facing in the direction of Sundarī as her hair is combed by her attendants.[37] When the time comes to depart, Sundarī's toilet is not complete, as evidenced by the texts describing

Sundarī with her locks half combed, the *tilaka* on her brow not yet dry, as if to show that the marriage has yet to be consummated.[38] In the Ajantā painting we might, I believe, once again interpret the stick with the long crook as an allusion to Nanda's unfinished toilet when she left the mansion.

Outside the Gandhāran context, the following Kuṣāṇa-period relief from Gurgaon, generally taken to depict the story of Sundarī, is problematic.

4.3 Relief No. 12.186, Mathurā Govt. Museum (Pal, 1984: no. 16).[39] The relief is in two superposed bands. In the centre of the upper panel we see a standing female figure looking in a mirror, and a male figure to the left, also standing, is shown in the act of touching her plaited hair. The female figure is touching her head with her left hand, and she is attended by two serving maids, one – a standing figure of more diminutive proportions than the other personages – carrying a tray (*utpala-nāla dhāraṇī-kanyā*) with a twisted garland. The second of the two maids appears in the background. In the lower panel we see, to the far right, a male figure bearing a tray identical to the one in the upper panel. To his side, a female personage wraps the garland about her neck, and to her right there appears a dwarfish male figure holding a mirror. Sharma has interpreted the relief as depicting the episode in which Nanda leaves his wife, although Schlingloff rightly casts some doubt on this reading.[40] A different interpretation of the relief is offered by Sivaramamurti, who states that the Gurgaon scene should represent a *veṇībandarai,* or the braiding up of the hair, where the loving *yakṣa* is readjusting "the neglected hair of his beloved and decorates it with flower-garlands," as reported in Meghadūta: "(you will probably see) her often pushing back from her cheeks with her hand having untrimmed nails the hard and coarse neglected braid (of hers) the very touch of which would cause pain and which bereft of flower was tied up on the day of my separation and awaits to be released (and dressed) by me (again) after the period of the curse when I am free from sorrow."[41]

In a later article, Sivaramamurti seems to interpret the scene as a depiction of the *puṃsavana sīmāntonnayana* (see below).[42]

4.4 Pillar no. J.533 in the Lucknow State Museum.[43] The same problem is posed by this artifact, which is also from the Kuṣāṇa period, and was found in the Kankali Mound. It is worth noting that Kankali Tila was essentially a Jain centre. The scenes depicted on the pillar have been interpreted as telling the Sundarī story.[44] Here too, and again rightly, Schlingloff questions this reading, partly on the grounds that neither the Buddha nor Nanda with the bowl appears here.[45]

The pillar is carved with reliefs on both sides.[46] On what we shall refer to as side A of the pillar we see, from the top downwards, four scenes.[47] (1) Only the lower part of the upper panel is left, showing two seated figures: a male (?)

personage to the left, and a female on the right, viewed in profile with left leg crossed over right leg. The figure to the left appears to be reaching out his left arm as if to touch the head (now lost) of the figure on the right. (2) Three personages, including a female figure in the background. Of the two in the foreground, the female figure to the left – the same we see in the following two scenes – is seated on a chair with her left ankle resting on her right knee, her left arm stretched out in the direction of the male figure, who stands to her left. This latter personage appears to have some unidentifiable object attached to his elbow – the same object we see held by the female figure in the following scene. (3) Three personages, one in the background, two in the foreground; the figure to the left in the foreground is male, the female figure to the right is probably the same one we saw seated in the previous relief. The male figure rests both hands on his hips and the female figure holds an unidentifiable object in her left hand. (4) To the left a female figure seated in three-quarter view, with three more female figures standing around her on the right, the one to the left in the group bearing a large bowl in her left hand. Facing the seated figure is a low pedestal showing traces of what might be the footed handle of a mirror.

On side B of the pillar, again from top downwards, we see four more scenes.[48] (1) Two seated figures, female on the left (probably the same personage seen in the previous and following reliefs), male on the right. (2) A scene with four personages, one of which is in the background. In the foreground we have, from left to right, a standing female figure with long hair; a dwarf (the same as in the fourth panel on this side, see below, and the same as seen in the relief in the Mathurā Museum) bearing a tray with a garland, and a male figure dressing the hair of the female image. (3) A scene with three personages, one of which is in the background. Of the two in the foreground, the female figure on the left is seated and receives from the male figure standing on the right a garland (?) or an object with a curved end (?), which would in the latter case be the same as the object in our Gandhāran relief from Jamāl Gaṛhī (item 2.2 above). (4) Four standing figures, three of which are in the foreground. Of these, the one on the far left is a dwarf, who touches the leg of the second – a female figure seen from behind – at knee level. The figure on the right is male and seems to be holding a lotus flower; in his right hand he holds the end of a scarf, the other end of which is held by the female figure. All four of these scenes appear to take place inside a building. These reliefs are very similar to the relief in the Mathurā Museum: here, too, the dwarf makes a showing, tray and flower garland are in evidence, and the male figure is portrayed in the act of touching the female personage's hair and adorning her with a garland. Compared with the sculpture in the Mathurā Museum, the interesting thing about this pillar is that we find not two but

eight stages of the ritual which, as I argue below, should actually be interpreted as that of the "parting of the hair."

In a study of the depiction of *saṃskāras* in the art of India and South-East Asia, Sivaramamurti cites a relief from Mathurā – unfortunately, he does not specify which – that would appear to illustrate the *puṃsavana sīmāntonnayana* (parting and dressing of the hair, decoration with flowers, etc., in order to keep the pregnant lady in good cheer and beautiful, the husband himself suggestively attending to this).[49] He may have had the Mathurā Government Museum's relief no. 12.186 in mind (item 4.3 above). As we have seen according to Sharma and Pal, the relief should be understood to depict the episode of Sundarī. We have also noted that in his first study Sivaramamurti asserted that the scene was a representation of a *yakṣa* braiding up the hair of his wife. If the unspecified relief from Mathurā cited by Sivaramamurti in his first study is the same as the one cited in his second article, and if, according to Sivaramamurti's later point of view, the scene should actually represent the "parting of the hair," P.K. Agrawala's hypothesis is to be ruled out, because at the time of Nanda's departure his wife was certainly not pregnant, and the Mathurā relief does not illustrate this episode, but rather the *puṃsavana sīmāntonnayana*.[50]

Returning to relief no. 12.186 in the Mathurā Government Museum, the fact that the sculpture contains no elements that might refer to the story of Nanda (such as the presence of the bowl, or of the Buddha) and the fact that the husband is touching his wife's hair and is setting a garland round her neck, all lend support to the hypothesis that the relief represents the *sīmāntonnayana*.

Finally, a few words about the "combs" with the curved ends. From an archaeological point of view, given the markedly rounded ends they display, we may possibly identify as *phanaka* two series of objects showing considerable similarity, all in copper and originally complete with handles – found at Taxila but now lost. The first series comes from the Bhir Mound, stratum I, the second (fig. 10.5) from Sirkap, stratum II, Block C', D', G', Mahal.[51] Marshall failed to come up with identification of these objects: "The purpose of the curious-looking instruments ... is by no means certain, but the accepted view, which the writer does not share, is that they were decapitators for use in obstetric operations."[52] The first series (type a) is of copper sheeting strengthened with a copper-wire rib on either side, the second (type b) is of solid metal (12). According to Marshall both types have a sharp cutting edge on the inside.[53] I concur with Marshall on the point that these items served no surgical purpose; for one thing, it would indeed be strange to find medical instruments forming part of a treasure, like no. 360b, by the Mahal. The most

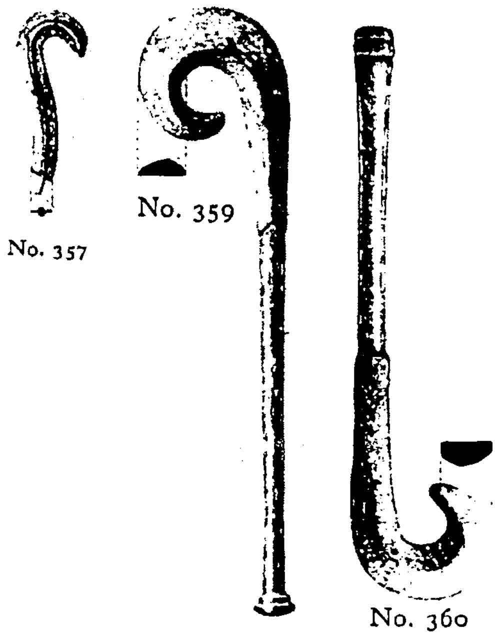


FIGURE 10.5. Copper objects. Sirkap, Taxila (after Marshall, pl. 177, nos. 357, 359, 360).

important point, however, is that, having had the opportunity to examine the pieces personally (by courtesy of Dr. Ashraf Khan, director of the Taxila Museum, to whom my thanks are due here), I can report that the objects have no cutting edge on the inside, and the hypothesis that these might have been surgical instruments is therefore clearly to be ruled out. Might they not, rather, have been "combs" used for the specific purpose of the parting hair?

Let us now return to our Gandhāran relief, the subject of this study. As we have seen, it depicts an event taking place immediately before the birth of the Buddha. It is definitely not the dream, nor the horoscope, nor the journey to Lumbini. The seated personage to the left and looking in the mirror can only be Māyā, seated before the stand upon which rests the garland she is to adorn herself with.

Cross-comparison leads me to conclude that the Gandhāran relief in question depicts the *sīmāntonnayana* of Māyā. So far no comparable depictions of the same episode, preceding the birth of the Buddha, have been found in the artistic production of the subcontinent, and this relief therefore remains a *unicum,* not only in Gandhāra but – with the possible exception of a relief from Kauśambī in the Allahabad Museum, no. 617:49,[54] and Ajantā, Cave XVI – in the entire narrative genre of Indian Buddhist art. The episode of

Māyā's Parting of her Hair may possibly also have been depicted in at least one case in Southeast Asia, in Pagan;[55] however this takes us beyond the scope of the present chapter.

NOTES

1 Kurita, *Gandhāran Art. I,* 34, fig. 41.
2 Zwalf, *Catalogue of Gandhāra Sculpture,* 149, no. 146.
3 Cunningham, *Stūpa of Bhārhut,* pl. XXIV.3; Auboyer, *Daily Life in Ancient India,* fig. 26.
4 Huntington, *Art of Ancient India,* 111, fig. 7.1. See also ivories nos. 34 *e*.5, 34 *c*.6, and 34 *a*.3 reproduced in Hackin et al., *Nouvelles recherches archéologiques à Begram,* figs. 9, 65, 481.
5 Mathurā Museum, No. 76.39; cf. Sharma, *Mathurā Museum and Art,* 85, fig. 80, and *Buddhist Art of Mathurā,* 102, 269, pl. 15.
6 Gupta, *Kushāna Sculptures from Sanghol,* 52-53, nos. 6.2-3; 61, no. 1.
7 Ingholt, *Gandhāran Art in Pakistan,* 64-65, pl. 61; Sehrai, *Buddha Story in the Peshawar Museum,* 36, no. 30; Kurita, *Gandhāran Art. I,* 114, fig. 222.
8 Kurita, *Gandhāran Art. I,* 114, fig. 221.
9 Kurita, *Gandhāran Art. I,* 139, fig. P3-V; Zwalf, *Catalogue of Gandhāra Sculpture,* vol. 1, 186-87, no. 205.
10 For the story, see Lamotte, *Traité de la grande vertu de sagesse de Nāgārjuna,* vol. 1, 117-18, no. 4, with references; Schlingloff, *Studies in the Ajanta Paintings,* 49, 56-57, nos. 1-12, with references; Zwalf, *Catalogue of Gandhāra Sculpture,* 187, with references. For a catalog of its representations in Indian art, see Schlingloff, ibid., 57, no. 13.
11 Foucher, *L'Art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra,* vol. 1, 465-66, fig. 235; Kurita, *Gandhāran Art. I,* 168, fig. 326; Sengupta and Das, *Gandhāra Holdings in the Indian Museum,* 52, no. 90; Zwalf, *Catalogue of Gandhāra Sculpture,* vol. 1, 187.
12 Gupta, *Kushāna Sculptures from Sanghol,* 31, no. 36.
13 Ibid.
14 Schlingloff, *Studies in the Ajanta Paintings,* 351, fig. 4.8.
15 For a complete account of the story as illustrated at Ajantā, see Schlingloff, ibid.
16 Foucher, *L'Art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra,* 464-65.
17 Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Birth Stories,* vol. 1, 128.
18 Burlingame, *Buddhist Legends,* vol. 1, 218. In the *Gṛhya Sūtra* by Āśvalāyana we read that during the wedding ceremony the husband loosens from his wife two locks of hair if two tufts of wool have been bound round her hair on the two sides. See Oldenberg, *The Gṛhya Sūtra,* part 1, 169. Might this not be a "re-combing" of the wife's hair once the ceremony has ended and possession is taken of the new mansion?
19 Burlingame, *Buddhist Parables,* 146.
20 Cowell, ed., *The Jataka,* vol. 2, 63.
21 Chavannes, *Cinq cents contes et apologues,* vol. 3, 87, with references.
22 Following are a number of extracts from Canto IV (verses 8-9, 11-12, 15, 19-20, 22):

> The twin [i.e., Nanda and Saundara ... nanda, his wife] dallied together, as if they were a target for the God of Love and Rati ... or a nest to hold Delight and Joy or vessels for Pleasure and Satisfaction. The pair attracted each other mutually, with their eyes engaged solely on each other's conversation and with their body-paint rubbed off by their mutual embraces. The pair brought ecstasy to each other with the increase of their mutual passion and in the intervals of exhaustion they sportively intoxicated each other by way of mutual refreshment. Once he covered her

with ornaments, not that she should be decorated, but simply in order to serve her ... She laughed inwardly in her mind at the playful trick and naughtiness of her lord, but pretending to be angry with him, she crinkled up her forehead and frowned at him ... She clasped him with her arms, so that the string of pearls swung loose from her breasts, and raised him up. "What a sight you are," she said and laughed out loud with the earrings hanging across her face. Then looking repeatedly at the face of her husband who had the mirror in his hand, she completed the painting on her cheeks, the surface of which was wet from the *tamāla* leaf ... Then Nanda respectfully held the mirror which bore witness to her decoration (by its reflection) and, training his eyes sideways to see the paint, beheld the mischievous face of his mistress. (Johnston, *The Saundarananda*, 20-22)

23 Faccenna, *Sculptures from the Sacred Area of Butkara*, vol. 2.3, 22-23, pls. LXI.a-b, LXII.
24 Ingholt, *Gandhāran Art in Pakistan*, 57, pl. 35.
25 Faccenna, *Sculptures from the Sacred Area of Butkara I*, vol. 2.3, 46-47, pls. CLXVI-CLXVII.
26 Ibid., vol. 2, 47, with references.
27 Gonda, *Vedic Ritual*, 388, with references. As Keith points out in *The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads*, 384, the porcupine quill serves in the future ceremony of the "parting of the hair" (see below).
28 Oldenberg, *The Gṛhya Sūtras*, 32-33.
29 Faccenna, *Sculptures from the Sacred Area of Butkara I*, vol. 2.3, 47, pl. CLXVIII; Francfort, *Les Palettes du Gandhāra*, pl. XLVIIIa.
30 Faccenna, *Sculptures from the Sacred Area of Butkara I*, vol. 2.3, 47, pl. CLXVIII.
31 Quagliotti, "Un rilievo inedito da Kauśambī."
32 Sivaramamurti, *Amarāvatī Sculptures*, 176-77, no. III.A.3, pl. XXVII. 1 IX. 10.
33 Ibid., 120, with references.
34 Takakusu and Nagai, *Samantapāsādikā*, Sp. 1200, 27-1201, 7.
35 Auboyer, *Daily Life in Ancient India*, 237.
36 Foucher, *L'Art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra*, 465.
37 This is in contrast with the Amarāvatī school, of which we may cite the relief in the Madras Government Museum, in Burgess, *The Buddhist Stūpas of Amarāvatī and Jaggayyapeta*, pl. 41.5, and in Sivaramamurti, *Amarāvatī Sculptures in the Madras Government Museum*, 254, no. IV A, 8, pl. 63.2. The lower scene on the relief shows, to the left, Nanda touching his wife's hair and, to the right, the prince preparing to follow the Buddha.
38 As we saw above, the *tilaka* concludes the woman's toilette.
39 Sivaramamurti, *Sanskrit Literature and Art*, 31, pl. 12.39; Sharma, *Mathurā Museum and Art*, 53, fig. 40; Pal, *Rare Sculptures*, no. 16.
40 Sharma, ibid., 53; Pal, ibid., no. 16; Schlingloff, *Studies in the Ajantā Paintings*, 351, fig. 4.8.
41 Sivaramamurti, *Sanskrit Literature and Art*, 31, n. 2, with references. The publication of Sivaramamurti's book was delayed until it was agreed to publish it in the Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India.
42 Sivaramamurti, "Samskāras in Sculpture."
43 V.S. Agrawala, "Palace-scenes on a Mathurā Pillar," 59; Joshi, *Mathurā Sculptures*, 65; P.K. Agrawala, *Mithuna*, 29-30; Trivedi, *Masterpieces in the State Museum, Lucknow*, 42.
44 V.S. Agrawala, "Palace-scenes on a Mathurā Pillar"; P.K. Agrawala, *Mithuna;* Trivedi, *Masterpieces in the State Museum, Lucknow*.
45 Schlingloff, *Studies in the Ajantā Paintings*, 57, no. 13.
46 The reliefs are described in Trivedi, *Masterpieces in the State Museum, Lucknow*, 42: front side, from bottom to top: "foliage; a bacchanalian scene [...]; Sundarī at toilet and 'propitiation of the proud lady.'" Reverse side, from bottom to top: lotus foliage; dancing scene; "in the

upper panel is a palace-amusement scene showing a lady with jester. The next one is an interesting illustration of *Veni Prasadhana*. The uppermost panel depicts the music consort." As the reader can see, Trivedi's descriptions are extremely confused.

47 P.K. Agrawala, *Mithuna*, fig. 78.

48 Ibid., fig. 77.

49 Sivaramamurti, "Samskāras in Sculpture," 4–5.

50 The *sīmāntonnayana* is the *saṃskāra* of "parting the hair upwards" – i.e., beginning from the front and proceeding backwards – generally "with a bunch of an even number of unripe fruits with a porcupine quill that has three white spots (or rings) and which, as we have seen, was one of the wedding presents given by the groom, and with three bunches of *kuśa* grass"; Pāraksara and Gobhila add the use of a Vīratara stick and a full spindle; according to others "the unripe fruits are to be tied to a string of three twisted threads and the string is to be suspended from the woman's neck as a garland," or it is said that the husband "should (by way of ornament) tie a string of barley grains with young shoots on the woman's head" or "the woman is to wear a garland and have fragrant unguents applied to her body." The *Mānavagṛhya* also speaks of parting hair in the marriage rite; see Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, vol. 2, 222-26, with references. For an accurate description of the rite and relevant sources, see Gonda in "The Sīmantonnayana as Described in the Gṛhyasūtras"; below are cited but a few of the sources.

In the *Gṛhya Sūtra* by Sāṅkhāyana we read:

> In the seventh month, at her [i.e., the wife's] first pregnancy, the Sīmāntonnayana (or parting the hair). He [i.e., the husband] causes her, after she has bathed and put on a (new) garment which has not yet been washed, to sit down behind the fire ... (the husband then) parts her hair, upwards, beginning from the middle, with a porcupine's quill that has three white spots, or with a Darbha needle together with unripe Udambara fruits, with the words "Bhûr bhuva*h* sva*h*." He lays down (the things he has used) in her lap, ties (the fruits) to a string of three twisted threads and fastens them to her neck with the words "Rich in sap is this tree; like the sappy one be thou fruitful." (Oldenberg, *The Gṛhya Sūtras*, 47–48)

In the *Gṛhya Sūtra* by Āśvalāyana we read:

> In the fourth month of pregnancy the Sīmāntonnayana (or parting of the hair, is performed). In the fortnight of the increasing moon, when the moon stands in conjunction with a Nakshatra (that has a name) of masculine gender ... He then three times parts her hair [i.e., the hair of his wife] upwards [i.e., beginning from the front] with a bunch containing an even number of unripe fruits, and with a porcupine quill that has three white spots, and with three bunches of kuśa grass, with (the words), "Bhûr, bhuva*h*, svar, om!" Or four times. (Oldenberg, *The Gṛhya Sūtras*, 181)

In the *Gṛhya Sūtra* by Gobhila it is written:

> Now (follows) the Sīmāntonnayana (or parting the hair), in her first pregnancy, in the fourth, or sixth, or eighth month (of her pregnancy). In the morning, after she has been washed, sitting on northward-pointed Darbha grass (all over her body), including her head, she sits down to the west of the fire on northward-pointed Darbha grass, facing east. Her husband, standing behind her, ties (to her neck) an Udambara branch with an even number of unripe fruits on it, with (the verse), "Rich in sap is this tree." He then parts her hair upwards (i.e. beginning from the front), the first time with Darbha blades, with (the word), "Bhû*h*!" the second time with (the word), "Bhuva*h*!" the third time with (the word), "Sva*h*!" – Then with (a splint of) Vîratara (wood) with this verse, "With which Aditi's" ...; Then with a full

spindle, with this verse, "I invoke Râkâ" ...; And with a porcupine's quill that has three white spots, with (the verse), "Which are thy blessings, O Râkâ." (Oldenberg, *The Gṛihya-sūtras,* 54–55)

In the *Gṛhya Sūtra* of Hiraṇyakeśin we read:

> Now (follows) the Sīmāntonnayana (or parting of the pregnant wife's hair). In the fourth month of her pregnancy, in the fortnight of the increasing moon, under an auspicious constellation he [i.e., the husband] puts wood on the fire, performes rites ... He then makes the wife who has taken a bath, who wears a clean dress and ornaments, and has spoken to a Brâmaṇa, sit down to the west of the fire ... he parts her hair upwards (i.e. beginning from the front) with a porcupine's quill that has three white spots, holding (also) a bunch of unripe fruits. (Oldenberg, *The Gṛhya Sūtras,* 208)

In the *Gṛhya Sūtra* by Āpastamba we read:

> "The Sīmāntonnayana (or parting of the pregnant wife's hair, is performed) in her first pregnancy, in her fourth month. (The husband) ... having performed (the rites) down to the sprinkling (of water) round (the fire), he makes her sit down to the west of the fire, facing the east, and parts her hair upwards (i.e. beginning from the front) with a porcupine's quill that has three white spots, with three Darbha blades, and with a bunch of unripe Udambara fruits." (Oldenberg, *The Gṛhya Sūtras,* 278–79)

51 Marshall, *Taxila,* 599–600, pl. 177, nos. 357, 359–60; 185, nos. 359, 360a–c.
52 Ibid., 600.
53 Ibid., 599–600, pl. 177, nos. 357, 359–60; 185, nos. 359, 360a–c.
54 Quagliotti, "A Gandhāran Relief with Two Scenes from Buddha's Life," 244.
55 Ibid.

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11 Local Crafts in Early Gandhāran Art

Doris Meth Srinivasan

On the Role of Indigenous Crafts in Buddhist Art from Gandhāra

For quite some time, I have believed that discussions on Buddhist art from Gandhāra have not given sufficient weight to one important consideration when assessing incipient Gandhāran art. An assessment of Gandhāran Buddhist art routinely traces Graeco-Bactrian influences, as well as Roman, Parthian, Scythian, and Indian influences from the Gangetic Valley. Hardly anyone questions whether aspects of art indigenous to the Gandhāran region were incorporated into Buddhist art. This approach would not deny that influences did indeed come from the Gangetic sphere of the Indian subcontinent, and from foreign sources to the West; rather it raises the question whether the influences were absorbed into existing arts and crafts preceding, or unrelated to, the arts in service of the Buddhist religion.

There is a precedent for pursuing this line of inquiry. I have already determined in a previous study that the region of Gandhāra had a local textile industry, and that textiles were plugged into Gandhāran Buddhist scenes wherein textiles are not required from a religious point of view.[1] I now propose to expand the inquiry to include textiles not previously discussed, together with a sampling of ornamentation and furniture that appear in early Buddhist reliefs from Gandhāra. I will not aim for a comprehensive survey of examples illustrating these three crafts in all of Gandhāran art. My approach is highly selective because the final goal relates less to local Gandhāran art and crafts than to a focused question relating to the beginning of Gandhāran Buddhist art. Specifically, I wish to determine whether these three local crafts – textiles, ornamentations, and furniture – are predominantly present or absent in early Buddhist art from Gandhāra, in order to achieve clarification of a long-standing problem.

In addition to the many problems already associated with Gandhāran Buddhist art, another one lurks. A large hiatus exists between the prehistoric art of the Indus civilization and the historic Buddhist art of Gandhāra. The art

from these two cultures cannot be equated. The former consists of small, possibly religious, pieces, while pieces from the latter can be monumental and usually are religious. The beginning of the decline of the Indus civilization dates to approximately 1900 BCE, and a Late Indus Phase, during which a new social order developed, lasted until about 1300 BCE. Buddhism in Gandhāra probably began in the third century BCE. To date, there is insufficient evidence to document any sustained artistic activity in the great span of time between these two cultures. Therefore, it is natural to wonder who made Gandhāran art – just who was it who absorbed all the varied influences? When the need for monastic establishments in Gandhāra first arose, and with it the pedagogic, devotional, ritualistic, perhaps aesthetic needs to decorate the sacred centres with sculpture, who were the artisans approached for the tasks? Where did they come from? If local crafts were introduced into the early sculpture, then it is likely that local craftsmen had a role in carving the sculptures. But if local crafts were largely absent, then it is more likely that local craftsmen were not involved, and foreigners – be they from Western or Central Asia and/or the Indian subcontinent – were the predominant creators of incipient Gandhāran Buddhist art. What was the composition of the talent pool creating early Gandhāran art? This is the question before us. It is especially pertinent because, of all the possible outside influences upon Gandhāran art, the Indian one would seem a prime candidate, having produced impressive Buddhist art and architecture prior to that in Gandhāra.

To answer that question, this study confines itself to artistic evidence generally agreed upon as being early. In Gandhāra, the early phase of Buddhist art may be tied to the earliest appearance of the Buddha image in that region. Recent studies on related points work from the hypothesis that the Buddha image in the Northwest dates to around the beginning of the Christian era, or a few decades earlier.[2] This conclusion is based on the analyses of some single pieces by Fussman, who showed that quite possibly the earliest standing Buddha appears on a Tilya Tepe token which can be dated roughly between 50 and 1 BCE, and that it is followed by depiction of the Buddha on the gold Bīmarān relic casket, dated within the first half of the first century CE.[3] Another very early Gandhāran depiction of the Buddha is the pre- to mid-first-century-CE small Nitta bronze; it too, like the Tilya Tepe token, reveals the coalescing of Western (Hellenistic) and Eastern (Gangetic and Northwestern) modes of depiction.[4] These examples, parenthetically, do not argue for the primacy of the Buddha image in Gandhāra, as an equally early Buddha image, dated between 1 and 50 CE, can be assigned to the Mathurā school.[5] In sum, on the basis of the generally agreed-upon dating for early Buddhist art in Gandhāra, the present study of Gandhāran crafts in early Gandhāran Buddhist art confines itself to sculpture that can be dated

with reasonable assurance between the first century BCE and the first century CE.

The method employed is to isolate and analyze representations of textiles, ornamentation, and furniture found in sculpture that can be assigned to that period. Sculptures pertaining to Group I of Butkara fall into this span of time. The dating of this group has been established on archaeological grounds as well as on stylistic grounds.[6] Lohuizen-de Leeuw, in her masterful stylistic analysis of early Buddhist art from Butkara, also uses sculptures from other sites and shows that they compare well to Group I from Butkara; therefore, they must presumably also date to the first century BCE through the first century CE. Those sculptures, which are used in the present study, come from Loriyān Tāṅgai and Haḍḍa, and one, now housed in the Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin, comes from Swāt.[7] It is equally fitting to use one sculpture from Taxila; I have already discussed the piece elsewhere, where I have pointed out the rationale for its dating.[8] The reliefs around the Sikri stūpa housed in the Lahore Museum represent the very beginning of Buddhist art in Gandhāra. Their antiquity has been recognized by Marshall, Foucher, and Lohuizen-de Leeuw.[9] I follow their assessment and use the Sikri reliefs in this chapter. Lohuizen-de Leeuw, in substantiating her reasons for why the Sikri stūpa reliefs are very early, provides extensive stylistic and iconographic details by which early Gandhāran sculptures can be recognized. She then cites other examples including some from the Guides' Mess at Hoti Mardān.[10] It should be remembered that the majority of the Guides' Mess reliefs probably originate from somewhere in Swāt, not from Mardān. I will also include evidence from these early pieces.

It is useful to note that the material from the above-mentioned sites covers much of the geographic extent of the Gandhāran region. The sites range from Taxila, situated east of the Indus River in Pakistan, to Haḍḍa, beyond Pakistan, in eastern Afghanistan. Between Taxila and Haḍḍa lie the other sites, all west of the Indus. Sikri probably is in the Paja Hills, north of Mardān in the Peshawar Plains. The others are located in the Lower Swāt District of the Northwest Frontier Province (NWFP), Pakistan. Loriyān Tāṅgai seems to be directly to the east of the Malakand Pass as well as two smaller mountain passes.[11] As stated above, the majority of the Guides' Mess reliefs probably come from Swāt.[12] Butkara lies slightly east of Mingora, the major trading centre in Lower Swāt today. It is helpful to keep in mind the spread of these sites when trying to interpret diversity in the local crafts within Gandhāra. Subregional diversifications can be due to geographic, ecological, environmental, and sociological factors. They can also be due to the result of different foreign influences affecting different habitational enclaves in the mountainous stretches of Gandhāra. Chances are good that these factors are being

accounted for in this study, as the spread of the sites being monitored here is rather extensive.[13]

Gandhāran Crafts

Textiles

My initial studies on textiles provided the foundation for establishing a craft specialization in Gandhāra, and I can now build upon the earlier findings of two previous publications.[14] The conclusion reached is that textiles were made in Gandhāra, but that textile patterns could incorporate outside borrowings as well as local patterns. Examples of the former are patterns borrowed from Parthia.[15] This observation opens the present discussion.

A relief from Taxila illustrates a particular beading motif that corresponds to a Parthian pattern (fig. 11.1). Specifically, the pattern consists of the repetition of a set of beads (possibly pearls) aligned in vertical rows and separated by a strip of cloth. The band of beads (or pearls), in both the Gandhāran and Palmyrene art of Parthia, is edged on either side by thin strips. The example from Taxila is found on a relief from stūpa D3 at the Dharmarājikā complex. The relief, now in the Taxila Museum (no. 320), depicts the Buddha seated on a backless throne covered by a cushion; he is preaching to Vajrapāṇi and the women who surround him. The textile, ornamented with three vertical rows of the bead (or pearl) pattern, covers the cushion. Not only do the thin strips that edge the vertical rows remind us of the Parthian mode, but also it has been convincingly shown that the Dharmarājikā stūpa D3 dates to the early years of the Parthian period at Taxila.[16] In spite of the fact that this is a simple design with a possible protohistoric precedent in Swāt, I am inclined to believe that the source for the Taxila textile pattern is Parthia, because of the known Parthian presence in that city. Further, it seems significant to note that this is the only textile at Taxila that can be associated with a relief dating from prior to the period of the Great Kuṣāṇas.

There are two reliefs from the Sikri stūpa that depict the Buddha seated on a cloth; neither one features the vertical beading. The first textile is in a scene of Siddhārtha's First Meditation; the Buddha-to-be is seated on a platform over which is draped a plain cloth.[17] The way the drapery folds hang suggests that this is a cloth of medium weight. In the second example, the Buddha is seated on a low, backless throne as he preaches to the gods in the Trāyastriṃśa Heaven (fig. 11.2). The textile over the throne is thick and elaborately decorated. The decoration occurs in vertical panels, of which the centre panel is almost a square. Inside the square is a flower with four large petals that open diagonally and touch each corner of the square. In between every two petals there is a small leaf. According to researchers in the Botany Department of the University of Peshawar, the flower depicted belongs to the mustard fam-



FIGURE 11.1. The Buddha preaching to Vajrapāṇi and a group of women. Stūpa D3 at Dharmarājikā, Taxila. Taxila Museum. No. 320 (after Kurita).

ily, of which there are many species. These botanists were shown a whole group of Gandhāran textiles with floral designs during the early 1990s with the aim of determining whether the floral patterns were fanciful designs or designs based on the actual plants of the region. In successive interviews with the Peshawar botany faculty, identifications and interpretations of a number of floral motifs were attempted – the gentlemen found it demanding fun to go from art to science! They noted that mustard is a wild plant frequently found in Swāt, and that it is an important source of oil in daily life. To either side of the mustard flower in the textile pattern are narrower panels with undulating tulip-like flowers repeated in alternating directions. The tulip is a perennial herb that grows well today in the hills, especially in the Hazara and Swāt areas of NWFP in Pakistan.[18] Next to the flower resembling the tulip there is a leafy plant design, which also occurs as a decoration on the local

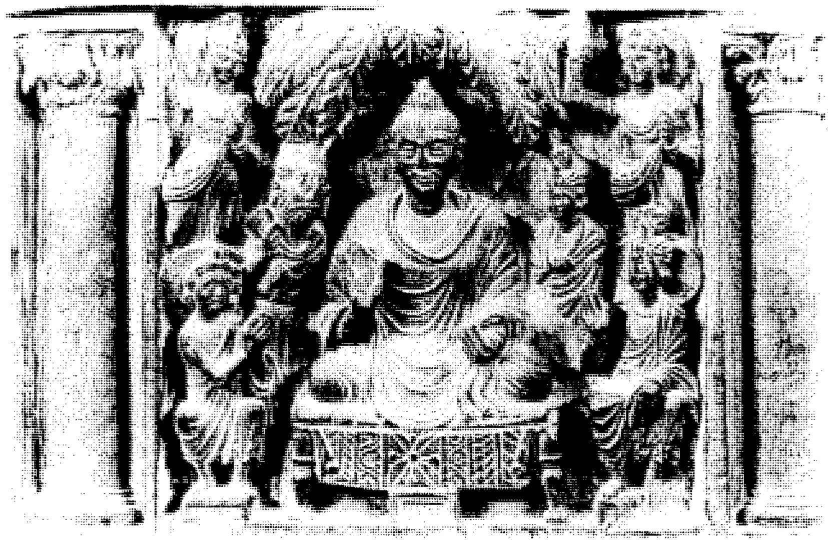


FIGURE 11.2. Buddha preaching to the gods in the Trāyastriṃśa Heaven. Sikri stūpa in the Lahore Museum. Courtesy Warburg Institute, London.

pottery of Saidu Sharif in Swāt.[19] Shahalam Shah, a botanist at Jahangir College in Swāt ventured to consider this branch as possibly being from the wild tree *Olea cuspidata,* of the olive family, whose wood provides firewood and whose fruit yields oil. The branch design on the right side of the textile clearly renders the central branch from which spring the characteristic opposite leaves, but the same components on the left are rendered in a loose fashion and the pattern is almost lost.[20] Variety in pattern rendition, as in the branches of the wild tree and the row of discs on the left (see note 19), is common in contemporary textiles made in NWFP. The Sikri example shows that variations were already tolerated in the ancient textile craft.[21] Tasseled edges fold over the cloth in the Sikri relief and expose the throne legs.

The textiles from the two early reliefs associated with the site of Loriyān Tāṅgai have several traits in common. In both cases, the textiles appear to be heavy and patterned with florals arranged in vertical bands. Thus, even though there is no duplication of floral motifs, they share the same morphological arrangement.[22] The first relief, which may portray the worship or entreaty of the Buddha (Indian Museum, Calcutta, no. 5058), shows the Enlightened One seated on a platform covered with a textile; the covering shows a series of the same flower, one overlapping the next, in the first, third, and fifth bands (as well as along the bottom edge of the relief). The flower is depicted realistically; it has a raised stigma, surrounded by a ring of stamina, resting on the outer large petals. The Peshawar botanists propose that the motif represents a



FIGURE 11.3. Entreating the Buddha. Loriyān Tāṅgai. Lahore Museum. No. 1634. Courtesy Warburg Institute, London.

flower from the buttercup family, which grows wild in Swāt. However, the lotus may fit this description as well, and it also grows wild in the subcontinent.[23] The flower repeated in bands 2 and 4 may belong to the sunflower family, common in Pakistan; but this pattern needs further study.[24] The identification of the flowers in the second relief, which has as its theme "Entreating the Buddha" and is now held in the Lahore Museum (acc. no. 1634; fig. 11.3), is more difficult to ascertain because their depiction is far less naturalistic than that of the flowers in the first relief. This textile renders a profusion of stylized petaled flowers.

Turning next to the reliefs from the Guides' Mess that feature textiles, we start with the fragment depicting the worship of Siddhārtha's turban (now in the Peshawar Museum).[25] The turban is placed on a cushion that rests on a throne covered with a textile. The textile design is almost identical to the rows of beads (or pearls) found on the textile from stūpa D3 at the Dharmarājikā complex, Taxila, and shown in fig. 11.1. Note that thin strips also form the border of each of the two rows shown in the example from the Guides' Mess. Here, too, as in the other instances where a throne is represented, the cloth's edge folds over and uncovers a view of the carved throne legs. In the second relief (Peshawar Museum, no. 2067; fig. 11.4), King Śuddhodana sits on a heavy textile and listens to the interpretation of Māyā's dream. The textile covers the seat of his elaborate throne. The handsome though considerably effaced fabric has a border filled with an undulating leafy scroll pattern of a nonspecific botanical character. The third relief from the Guides' Mess represents the Buddha's *parinirvāṇa* (Peshawar Museum, no. 1084; fig. 11.5). The dying Buddha lies upon a patterned textile flung over his bedstead or couch.[26] The heavy cloth features a combination of geometric and floral designs arranged in vertical panels. The carving of the individual textile patterns is sloppy. Barely recognizable in the outer vertical panel is a long, leafy branch design akin to the one on the Sikri textile (fig. 11.2). A much confused rendering of a pattern based on basket weaving can be seen to the right of the centre monk seated at the Buddha's bedside. The basket pattern consists of a series of striations going in one direction followed by a series going in the opposite direction, etc.

From Group I, Butkara, three published reliefs show textiles. The first depicts the Great Leave-Taking and may be cited as another example similar to the vertical bead (or pearl) pattern derived from Parthia; however, the designs in this example are square, so the Parthian influence is perhaps not a direct one (Butkara, inv. no. 2472; fig. 11.6).[27] Next is a textile upon which lies the corpse of the Buddha.[28] He lies on a bed covered by a mattress and a draped plain cloth of medium weight. The third relief depicts the Final Obsequies Paid to the Body of the Buddha and likewise shows a textile covering the bed upon which he rests.[29] The cloth is decorated with flowers that reflect a cruder workmanship than the florals executed on the Sikri textile examined above and the Haḍḍa textile discussed below. Perhaps some sort of ornamental rosette is intended on this Butkara bedcovering.

Even though much of the carpet, as well as other portions of the Haḍḍa relief, have been destroyed, enough of the design remains to indicate that the textile must have been exceptional.[30] The Buddha sits on a dais in a meditative pose, and a surrounding host of devotees either worship or entreat him. The carpet covers the dais and originally contained bands of ever-decreasing

size, going around the four sides of the carpet. Now only segments of the bands remain. The outer band has five-petaled flowers that may well represent buttercups; alternating with the buttercups are double lotus flowers. Next follows a narrow band of squares. It is followed by a creeper-type leaf, which is tripartite, and may, according to the Peshawar botanists, belong to a creeping buttercup (*Ranunculus hirtellus*). Lastly, another narrow band of squares is repeated; the same flat squares as are observed in Butkara I, inv. no. 2472 (fig. 11.6 above).

Ornaments

My examination here of the subject of ornamentation in early Gandhāran art is confined solely to the focused aim stated at the outset of this chapter.[31] In the corpus used above for the textile survey, I will identify some of the main ornaments depicted in the early, or pre-Kuṣāṇa, art of Gandhāra and attempt to determine whether they reflect local or foreign types. As such, the ensuing discussion revolves around ornaments appearing in the specific sculptures already mentioned, which come from the Dharmarājikā stūpa, the Sikri stūpa, the Guides' Mess assemblage, Loriyān Tāṅgai, and the Butkara stūpa (Group I). In addition, it is deemed appropriate to scan other Butkara sculptures not previously mentioned but which are also attributed to Group I, and other reliefs encircling the Sikri stūpa now installed in the Lahore Museum.

By far the most popular ornamentation is composed of beads. Necklaces show different designs using beads. The women surrounding the preaching Buddha on the Dharmarājikā relief (no. 320; fig. 11.1), wear long and short beaded necklaces, some of which feature a large centre bead or gem. Men wear rows of long necklaces made of beads (see also the necklaces of adorants in fig. 11.2 from the Sikri stūpa).[32] Rows of beads make popular bracelets for men in the Group I reliefs of Butkara.[33] Ladies wear rows of beads as girdles (see fig. 11.6 and note 27), and necklaces as seen in the piece from Butkara I, inv. no. 283.[34] This last relief, no. 283, being a false gable, is a veritable compendium of feminine ornaments. The female wears cylindrical ear pendants, thin and apparently plain bangles, and "large double-ringed anklets with beaded sockets to cover the aperture."[35] All this finery does not prevent the male by her side from offering her yet another beaded necklace quite like the one she already wears.

It is interesting to observe that a beaded necklace often hangs from a tree in certain early Buddhist images. The reliefs depict the seated Buddha sheltered by such an ornamented tree and flanked by entreating worshippers. A fragment from Butkara Group I (inv. no. 1213), contains all these elements, including the beaded necklace hanging from a lower branch.[36] Other carvings mentioned above that represent the entreated Buddha also show beaded

necklaces suspended from tree branches. In the pan-Indic folk tradition, the *kalpavṛkṣa* tree is capable of producing all manner of desired objects. Ornaments are among the products it can bring forth. It makes perfect mythopoeic sense for a craftsman acquainted with the belief in a wish-fulfilling tree to introduce such a tree into a scene where the Buddha is being entreated to do something, namely preach.

It is not as easy to determine whether early Gandhāran beaded ornaments partake largely of foreign or local inspiration. Take, for example, the situation at Taxila, where a large number of beads have been found, including about 5,534 from Sirkap and about 1,200 from the Dharmarājikā and other sites. Their great variety, particularly during the Śaka-Parthian period, is the probable result of considerable influx from both Indian and Western centres of production, plus local manufacture.[37] In Swāt, the excavation of the Buddhist monastery at Saidu Sharif yielded fewer than thirty beads, but they consist of various materials and thirteen different shapes.[38] Of course, a Buddhist monastery is inhabited by a population differing from that of a town such as Sirkap, and this ought to explain the limited and probably local type of beads at the Saidu monastery. It seems necessary, however, to postulate a more extensive local bead industry in Gandhāra, if we infer a situation that is similar to the one for the prehistoric Indus civilization. An active bead-making industry developed in the Indus Valley civilization, and it evolved and continued locally through the ages.[39] Therefore it seems unrealistic to insist that bead ornaments seen in early Gandhāran art reflect mainly outside sources.[40] Rather, this ancient, popular, and highly portable mode of decorating the body is likely to owe much to foreign and local inspiration alike.

Some long necklaces can display a central gem on some sort of chain other than beads. A princely ornament consists of a long chain made of twisted links (Butkara I, inv. no. 2353),[41] or a double tube-like chain worn by Siddhārtha on the Sikri stūpa relief depicting his first meditation (see note 17). In both cases, the chain hangs as if made of some precious metal, probably gold.

Another type of necklace, a torque, can be found hanging from the wish-fulfilling tree in the "entreaty" scene. A relief from Swāt and now in the Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin (no. 15970; fig. 11.7), shows a torque right above the seated Buddha. Its distinctive lunar-crescent shape reminds one of the neck ring worn to this day by married women of Swāt. The ornament and its particular folk connotation may be traced back to pre-Kaniṣka times. A similar shape can be seen adorning the sleeping wife of Siddhārtha in the Butkara relief described above (inv. no. 2472; fig. 11.6). The fact that a torque of probable local manufacture hangs from a tree in a Buddhist scene of entreaty reinforces the possibility that the tree itself relates to local folk beliefs.

These early sculptures show numerous types of long and short necklaces worn by males.[42] Meditating Siddhārtha (see note 17) wears a banded collar with square inlays and armlets matching the longer chain. A tubular collar close to the neck is worn by the godling to the left of the Buddha preaching in the Trāyastriṃśa Heaven (fig. 11.2, from the Sikri stūpa). The adorant in the upper right of the Loriyān Tāṅgai Entreaty scene (fig. 11.3) wears a necklace with a central tubular, incised gem bracketed by three small beads. The mourner at the feet of the Buddha's dying body has on what looks like a metal cord from which discs are suspended (fig. 11.5).[43] It could be that these fairly simple collars are local designs, although this is uncertain. The basket-weave design, which in its wavy version appears on a male's pectoral in a local Butkara Group I relief (inv. no. 1240), is surely of local origin.[44] The basic weave can be seen in the textile of fig. 11.5. This is one of those ubiquitous patterns occurring in (stone depictions of) metalwork, textiles, and woodwork because it is a pleasing and uncomplicated design stemming from a local industry. The male figure in inv. no. 1240, who is possibly a Bodhisattva, wears a long necklace of a type not described thus far; it features, suspended from a series of strings or cords, "animal protomai holding a large gem."[45] King Śuddhodana in fig. 11.4 wears a necklace made of the same three elements (cord and central gem or reliquary box supported by opposing figures).[46] The king's long necklace, or saltire, seems to have opposing florals. He wears a short collar similar in design to the one worn by meditating Siddhārtha, mentioned above in note 17. Antecedents to the form and design qualities



FIGURE 11.4. Interpretation of Māyā's Dream. Guides' Mess. Peshawar Museum. No. 2067 (after Kurita).

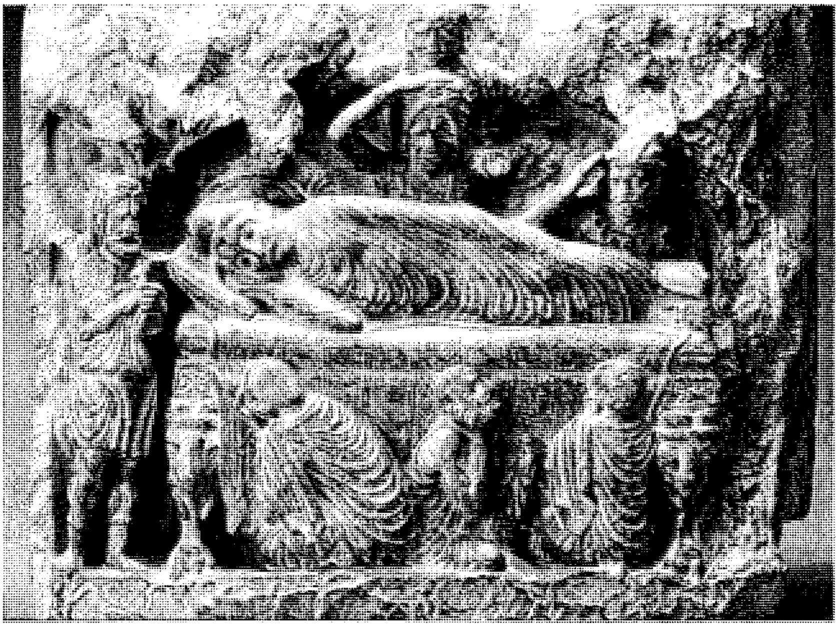


FIGURE 11.5. Parinirvāṇa. Guides' Mess. Peshawar Museum. No. 1084.

noticed with the saltires (inv. no. 1240 and fig. 11.4) seem linked to the nomadic and western Asiatic worlds, according to recent studies by Carter and Tissot (see notes 42 and 46, respectively).

A popular motif found on collar necklaces repeats an open-petaled flower interspersed with the double lotus. The general combination occurs elsewhere, such as in the upper band of a Butkara *caitya* relief where the open flower has six petals (inv. no. 1495);[47] and on the base of a Buddha image carved in imitation of woodwork.[48] The pattern occurs several times on the collar necklaces of males and females belonging to Butkara's Group I (inv. nos. 1704, 3496, 4033, 6000).[49] Unfortunately, the reproductions of these figures are not sharp enough to determine many details, including the number of petals in the open flower. In the Butkara volumes, the pattern is described as a rosette and sheaf;[50] this may be the case, but it is also possible that local flowers are depicted. The pattern is fairly common, being incorporated into textile, jewellery, and (ostensibly) carpentry crafts of Gandhāra. It is therefore difficult, though not impossible, to assign its point of origin to India (where, however, it already appears in the necklace of a first-century BCE Mathurā *cauri* bearer)[51] or to Bactria (where ornaments with the motif are found in Tilya Tepe, dating to between the first century BCE and the first century CE).

A bracelet composed of the bead and reel pattern (e.g., Butkara I, inv. no. 2353),[52] and an armlet with the palmette design (e.g., Butkara I, inv. nos. 2353 and 3496)[53] are examples of ornaments incorporating motifs that stem from the Classical world. These patterns are not found in our early textile samples, but it would be misleading to consider them exclusively used in personal ornaments, as they do occur in architectural and textile renderings whose Kuṣāṇa dating cannot be narrowly specified. Bangles in the corpus are usually plain, though a cuff-shaped bangle has been noted (Butkara I, inv. no. 2472; see fig. 11.6).

Although ornamental belts are worn by both males and females in Gandhāran art, among the early assemblage isolated for this discussion, just one example can be cited. It comes from Butkara. The belt is worn by a male over his long tunic and trousers – clearly foreign attire (inv. no. 1238).[54] It is rendered as if made of square metal plaques. Each square contains a flower that resembles the one seen in the centre of the Sikri Trāyastriṃśa textile; on that account, it may represent the flower of a local mustard plant.

Before analyzing the furniture represented in our early sample, it may be good to highlight those points from the foregoing discussion on textiles and

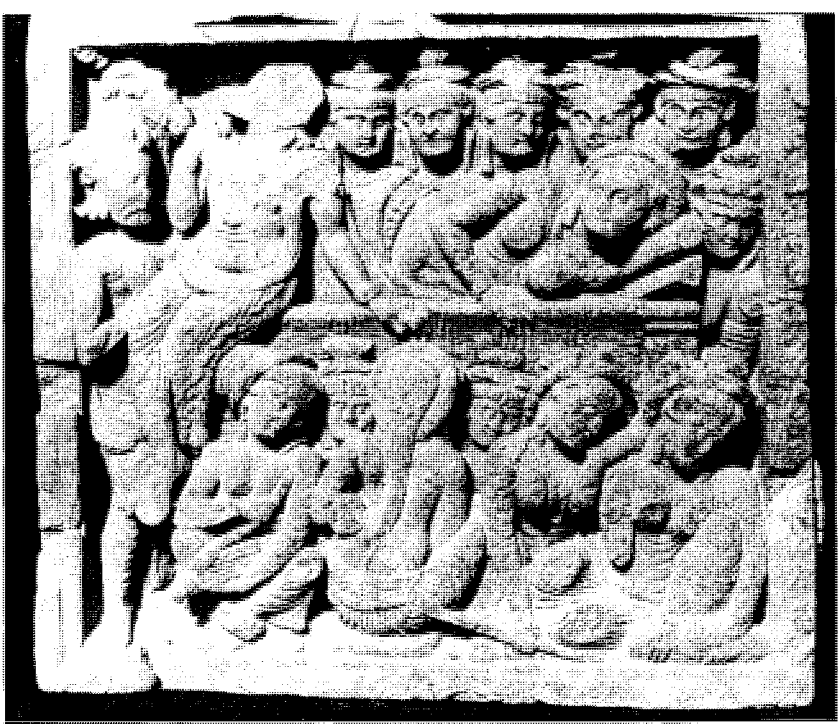


FIGURE 11.6. The Great Leave-Taking. Butkara I. Inv. no. 2472.



FIGURE 11.7. Entreating the Buddha. Swāt. Schist, 42 x 40 cm, ca. first century CE. Courtesy Museum für Indische Kunst Berlin, no. 15970.

ornaments that are relevant to the overall problem, namely assessing the extent to which local crafts are present or absent in early Gandhāran art. Assessment of their incorporation and their source of inspiration helps to identify the talent pool at the incipient stage of this art.

1 A number of textile and ornamental patterns are shared, and some of these may relate to the flora in the Gandhāran region.
2 Another shared textile and ornament pattern, the basket design, may well be based on weaving, probably a local craft industry.
3 Foreign designs do appear. Whereas they are in the minority in textiles, they are more prominent in ornaments.
4 The reliefs introduce crafts in areas not essential to Buddhist beliefs. The introduction of these elements in the reliefs expresses local values, customs, and beliefs that are, however, congenial to the Buddhist themes

represented. Thus, the space occupied by the Buddha is defined as being a special space because it is set off by a local carpet; wishes directed toward the Buddha are buttressed by the presence of a wish-fulfilling tree; and the wife of the Buddha-to-be wears something akin to the contemporary Swāti neck ring designating a female's marital status.

Furniture

Three types of furniture can be isolated from the sites chosen for this study. They are the bed or couch, the throne, and the footstool. Excellent examples are found, for the most part, in the reliefs already examined in connection with the other two crafts.

As may be expected, the theme of the *parinirvāṇa* can, but need not, introduce into the picture plane something more than a plank as support for the Buddha's body. A bedstead often occurs, and its legs may have distinctive details. Thus it is no surprise to find an analysis of the aforementioned *parinirvāṇa* bedstead from the Guides' Mess, Mardan (Peshawar Museum, no. 1084; fig. 11.5) in the monograph by Jorinde Ebert dedicated to the *parinirvāṇa*.[55] Ebert considers this relief to be the earliest representation of the theme in the subcontinent; this lets us suppose that he dates it to around the end of the first century CE.[56] What may be surprising is that this early relief features the more elaborate of the two types of legs Ebert associates with the Buddha's deathbed in Indian art. This type (Ebert's Type B), is a composite of animal forms, the lower portion of the leg being a lion's paw and the upper part representing an elephant's head. The legs in the Guides' Mess *parinirvāṇa* relief (which is likely to have been made in Swāt) have a sculptural, tactile quality; they do not appear to represent lathe-turned legs. On top of these legs there is a cubed floral design; it probably would have mortise joints for affixing the bed's plank on which rests the cushion supporting the Buddha's body. It is the cushion and plank that receive textile covers. In all, the Buddha's bed has the massive appearance of a heavy wooden bedstead carved with a carpenter's careful attention to his craft.

Of much cruder workmanship are the two bedsteads from Butkara Group I showing the *parinirvāṇa* (inv. nos. 3591 and 2549).[57] Both probably depict lathe-turned legs.

Even more simple than these Butkara examples is the bed supporting the corpse carried in funerary procession. This cot is also shown on a Butkara relief from Group I (no. 4360).[58] because the subject of the relief is unclear, it seems best to base the identification of the scene solely on what is represented: a funerary cortège. The cot, with its plank and spindle legs, is rudimentary and closer to the ordinary *charpai* of the subcontinent than the aforementioned bedsteads.

Turning next to the throne and footstool, these can be analyzed together because they usually appear together in reliefs. In the Dharmarājikā relief from Stūpa D3 (Taxila Museum, no. 320; fig. 11.1), the Buddha sits on a throne whose textile covering I described above. Now is the time to look more closely at the throne itself. As mentioned earlier, it is backless and represents a seat with carefully turned legs. These fine and evenly rendered legs, with their cylindrical tops, ringed and globular middles, and tubular lower portions, evoke a distant connection to the cruder version of the sequence noted on the legs of the Butkara *parinirvāṇa* bedsteads above. Indeed the turned leg, in contradistinction to the figural leg, is the first type of leg identified by Ebert (his Type Aa). The turned leg occurs, Ebert notes, on thrones and *kline* in the art of Bhārhut and Amarāvatī as well as Gandhāra, but she sees no grounds for stipulating a connection between the Gandhāran legs and the other two, as few similarities exist. The sequence of forms comprising the basic model of the Gandhāran turned leg is analyzed well by Ebert, even though her proposed chronological development is not totally convincing.[59] It is, nonetheless, useful to note that the shapes Ebert assigns to the individual components of forms comprising the early phase of the basic model (his Aa) correspond well to the legs on the Stūpa D3 Dharmarājikā throne. In the front and centre of this throne (fig. 11.1), a small, rectangular stool is placed which carries geometric decorations along the outer edges; zigzags move horizontally, and circular balls, quite like the shape of the beads or pearls on the textile, run along the vertical sides. Both pieces of furniture are carved in relief to simulate wood. Such finely crafted seating did not eclipse a more simple enthronement for the Buddha. For example, at Taxila during the same period, a plain dais can equally well serve as the Buddha's seat.[60]

The elaborate throne upon which Siddhārtha's turban rests in the Guides' Mess relief has legs quite similar to those on the throne of Taxila Museum no. 320 (from Stūpa D3 at Dharmarājikā). But for the series of ring mouldings at the bottom of the latter, the turned legs of both thrones are nearly identical in shape and proportion. In that sense, the legs of the turban's throne also fit into Ebert's Early Phase of the turned Gandhāran leg (Type Aa). Unlike the Dharmarājikā throne, the one in the Guides' Mess relief appears to be a solid-sided throne. The entire seating arrangement is covered by a large royal umbrella edged with a zigzag fringe and supported by a carved pole connected to the back of the throne. The stool below the turban's throne is boxlike in shape, like the Dharmarājikā stool (fig. 11.1). The Guides' Mess throne and stool represent impressive pieces of wooden furnishing whose design and carving reflect a confident acquaintance with techniques of wood carving. This, possibly, is the carpentry workshop tradition in Swāt, which could give

rise to the superb wooden throne and stool replicated in stone in the Guides' Mess relief depicting the Interpretation of Māyā's Dream.

As he listens to the dream's interpretation, the king sits on a throne that has a high back (fig. 11.4). It is handsomely decorated with rosettes alternating with sheaves along the horizontal top of the backrest; its vertical sides repeat only the rosettes. The rosette, composed of six rounded petals and central button-shaped stigma, reoccurs on the stool; wherever the flower appears it is edged by a frame, thus giving importance to the repeated design. The legs, which are of the lathe-turned type, demonstrate a variation that falls into the top portion of Ebert's Early Phase. Indeed, she takes note of this variety, ascribing it as a subcategory (e.g., A1) under the Type Aa leg. The characteristic feature of this variety is that instead of having a cylinder on top, Type A1 has a series of discs in the upper section.[61] The rest of the sequence follows that for the Early Phase of Ebert's Type Aa leg and thus poses no dating problem for her.

I, too, am convinced that the throne and stool seen in fig. 11.4 belong to our definition of early Gandhāran art, and this conviction is based on several other considerations in addition to Ebert's stylistic analysis of the furniture leg. The king's turban is high and knotted in the pre-Kuṣāṇa manner, just as is the enthroned turban in the aforementioned Guides' Mess relief.[62] His dress reminds one of the attire associated with the earliest Buddhas, especially the way the king's upper shawl is folded and draped into a thick bunch over the left shoulder.[63] Even the king's wide-eyed outward gaze is a feature of the early pre-Kuṣāṇa Buddhas. The ringlets forming the hair of the youthful nephew of Ṛṣi Asita, Naradatta by name, who is seated on the king's right, quite resemble hairstyles worn by males in the Group I Butkara relief of the funerary cortège (no. 4360); ultimately, the style relates to that of Parthian males seen on Palmyrene reliefs that can be dated to the first century BCE through the first century CE.[64] In addition, the umbrella edged with bells over the king's throne in this relief has a shape similar to the royal umbrella fringed with zigzags over the enthroned turban in the other Guides' Mess relief, depicting the Worship of Siddhārtha's Turban. In this way, several elements found in other early sculptures give additional support for the early dating of the Interpretation of Māyā's Dream (fig. 11.4; no. 2067 in the Peshawar Museum). It may, however, be observed that early reliefs from the Guides' Mess did not exclusively feature ornate thrones. A simple dais may support the Buddha, as is seen in the Attack of Māra in the Peshawar Museum.[65]

In the Sikri stūpa relief, the throne that elevates the seated Buddha as he preaches to the gods in the Trāyastriṃśa Heaven (fig. 11.2) is most likely an early throne, because the relief belongs to the earliest phase of Buddhist

Gandhāra art. It is a backless throne of which only the front legs are visible on either side of the heavy textile discussed above. The legs are smooth and evidently lathe-turned. However, these legs bear little resemblance to Ebert's Early Phase Aa, or even A1, the variation. Indeed, the Sikri turned legs are surprisingly closer to the shapes of Ebert's very last chronological category[66] than to his early phase. Here is an example of the malfunctioning of Ebert's chronological categories. Probably an individual carpenter's choice in a Sikri workshop, more than a development achieved through time, was responsible for the shape of the legs and the plain stool in this relief.

Individual craftsmen's aptitudes and tastes could probably also account for other types of furniture seen in the early sculptures from Sikri. A rectangular block, for example, may serve as the Buddha's seat in a Sikri stūpa relief in which he is presented the four begging bowls.[67] In this scene, the rendering of the seat's decoration would imply that the block is made of wood: three rosettes are carved in the front, and along the top runs a saw-tooth pattern. The block rests on three mouldings, each larger than the next. This support, less complex than that of the lathe-turned throne reviewed above, appears almost naively simple in comparison to the elaborate seating in yet another early Sikri sculpture, now in the Chandigarh Museum (formerly in the Lahore Museum), which is discussed next.[68]

The Chandigarh relief from Sikri has a headless enthroned bodhisattva flanked by three other seated personages whose upper portions have also broken off (fig. 11.8). Nonetheless, it may be surmised that the two figures to the Bodhisattva's right are males, and that the one to his left is a female. The early dating of this relief seems secure, given its stylistic similarities to other reliefs in the corpus of early examples used in this study (e.g., the torso of the Chandigarh Bodhisattva displays the subtle musculature of the upper chest and softer region of the belly as seen on Butkara I sculptures,[69] and the manner in which his shawl is wound around his left shoulder resembles that of King Śuddhodana's shawl in the Guides' Mess relief as well as numerous Butkara Group I sculptures). The Chandigarh Sikri Bodhisattva sits on a magnificent throne. It has armrests, a backrest, and richly imaginative figural legs; the legs are similar to Ebert's Type B, her Early Phase; but he does not note this example from Sikri.[70] The legs of the Chandigarh throne are a composite of the lion and elephant, but an unusual composite. The top of the leg is in the shape of the lion's head; from its mouth spouts the elephant's trunk, which glides downward to curl about the lion's leg. The lion's paw is poised on two thin discs terminating the exuberantly carved throne leg. Into the top of these front legs must fit a plank, hidden by a decorated textile. The plank would support the decorated cushion on which the bodhisattva sits. Who is he? His identity can be reduced to either that of Siddhārtha or Maitreya,



FIGURE 11.8. Enthroned bodhisattva. Sikri. Grey schist, 28 x 44.5 cm. Chandigarh Museum (author's photograph).

because to date these are the only two bodhisattvas that have been found seated on a textile in the early art of Gandhāra.[71] The Sikri textile is draped on either side of a heavy centre panel that contains the main decoration: a vertical alignment of a series of five-petaled flowers, perhaps the buttercup within leafy tendrils. The textile has tasseled edges, which fold over the sides, quite like the textile configuration in the Sikri stūpa relief representing the Buddha preaching in the Trāyastriṃśa Heaven.

These representations of early Sikri furnishings reveal variety and individuality, giving the impression of an active woodcarving tradition in the Peshawar Plains. Butkara seating as seen in the Group I reliefs consists mainly of a plain rectangular block with upper and lower mouldings and no stool. An exception within this group occurs on a relief fragment showing two males seated on chairs that could be termed "thrones" and resting their feet on stools.[72] The turban on one of them, together with their dress, indicates that they may be some sort of dignitaries or royalty. Interestingly, the four-petaled-flower design carved on the better-preserved chair – which seems to have a back – is quite like the design on the stool of the Mat statue of the enthroned Vima. The early Butkara series is fairly consistent in showing plain, functional furnishings devoid of elaborate carpentry details. Quite possibly, this tendency reflects the simple taste and craftsmanship of the woodcarvers in that Lower Swāt area.

The types of furnishings discussed above reflect, in nearly all cases, *categories* of furniture associated with conquerors invading the Gandhāran region during the first century BCE through the first century CE, without reflecting a consistent *correspondence* with foreign prototypes. We get an idea of what foreign furniture looks like mainly from the coinage of the invaders (reliefs showing Parthian thrones and couches exist, but actual examples of furniture parts are extremely rare). Although a detailed comparison of the shapes and origin of foreign and indigenous thrones, footstools, and bedsteads falls outside of the following overview, a brief review of the extent of foreign influences assists us, as with other crafts, in surmising the composition of the talent pool making early Gandhāran art.

Thrones in early Gandhāran reliefs recall foreign types without duplicating specific examples. See, for instance, the comparison between a backless bench throne (fig. 11.2), a backless throne (fig. 11.1), a throne with a back (fig. 11.4), and enthronement scenes on the foreign coinage analyzed by Curtis.[73] Thrones in early Gandhāran reliefs display considerable variety as to the shape and length of the leg and the presence or absence of a stool or sides to the throne. In fact, no two thrones are alike among our Gandhāran assemblage, and none of these thrones closely reflects a prototype. What we get in the Gandhāran reliefs is an evocation of foreign enthronement scenes and foreign furniture without direct correspondence.[74]

As a group, early Gandhāran thrones seem to have a variety of sources. But no overarching model of a Gandhāran throne develops from the various sources. Instead, an individualistic approach is in evidence. Such individualism, it seems to me, could occur if we postulate the existence of local carpenters in different regions of Gandhāra who modified western traditions of thrones and enthronement scenes as they saw fit. Both the ecology and topography of much of the Gandhāran regions associated with the sites considered in this study could support such a supposition.

Gandhāran representations of couches or bedsteads, as with the thrones, also lack internal conformity and – with one exception – have no noticeable relation to foreign prototypes. Whereas the Butkara cot for the ordinary corpse (inv. no. 4360) resembles the simple *charpai* still prevalent in the subcontinent today, the Butkara bedsteads carrying the Buddha's body (inv. nos. 3591 and 2549) are less simple but still crude; the special status given these cots is signaled only by the presence of textiles and the turned legs. Perhaps the type of bedstead commonly used in Butkara was not unlike the *charpai* in the Butkara reliefs, resulting in its depiction in the Buddhist reliefs. The more elaborate Parthian banquet couches so prevalent in Parthian funerary tombs would have been unknown at the time of the Group I reliefs from Butkara and early Gandhāran sites in general. We can assume this because this type of furniture

does not occur on Parthian coins and only appears on Parthian sculptural reliefs after the first century CE.[75] The exception may be the complex bedstead of the Buddha in the Guides' Mess *parinirvāṇa* scene from Swāt. It is very different from the simple cots from Butkara, which also are in Swāt. The legs of the Guides' Mess *parinirvāṇa* couch have some similarity with the throne legs in the Sikri reliefs from Chandigarh. A forthcoming study will analyze the possible foreign influences accounting for these furniture designs.

Conclusion

Textiles, ornaments, and furniture appearing in the early Buddhist art of Gandhāra introduce a mix of foreign and local traits, about which we can say the following:

1 The three crafts exhibit somewhat more of a local than a foreign character in their individual specimens.
2 The likelihood exists, as has been outlined in the discussion of textiles, that the floral motifs used as designs in the crafts seem to replicate flora indigenous to the Gandhāran region.
3 Incorporation of local flora could explain why the same floral pattern can occur in carvings that simulate different media (i.e., cloth, wood, metal, etc.). Thus, for example, the flowers carved on the depiction of a wooden chair throne from Butkara (inv. no. 1211) are also seen in the textile from Loriyān Tāṅgai (acc. no. 1634). Or, what may be the depiction of a mustard flower in the Sikri textile concerned with the scene in the Trāyastriṃśa Heaven can also be found carved on what seem to be metal plaques forming a belt worn by a Butkara male in the same relief (inv. no. 1238). Many other examples could be cited.
4 It seems important to note that the three crafts do not appear isolated from each other. Indeed, in the sculptural examples employed in this study, it is found that within the same relief often two, and in one case, three crafts appear.
5 An indigenous ornament (the neck ring of Swāt), and something like the *charpai*, pervasive throughout South Asia, seem to make their appearance in the Butkara scene of the Great Leave-Taking (inv. no. 2472) and in that of the funerary cortège (inv. no. 4360), respectively.
6 Local values, customs, and beliefs can be inferred from some of the crafts' usages. The use of a textile to set off a special space probably derives from the local use and prestige of carpets; suspending necklaces from trees is a typical convention probably tied to the South Asian belief in *kalpavṛkṣa* trees; adorning Māyā (inv. no. 2472) with a necklace that resembles the

ornament of Swāti married women may well reflect the continuity of a local tradition in the Butkara relief.

It is important to remember that, except for the need for a couch in the *parinirvāṇa* scene, there is no Buddhist requirement for the crafts analyzed in this chapter to have been included in early Gandhāran Buddhist sculpture. Even the enthronement scenes of the Buddha show distinct differences – his elevated seat can be rendered as a simple box-like dais or as a more ornately carved throne.

When these characteristics associated with local crafts are compared with the extent to which foreign motifs and crafts are used, it may be stated that local crafts and cultural perspectives are noticeably present in early Gandhāran art. There is foreign influence, to be sure, but the art also reveals the hand of the local artisan by introducing the environment in which he lived and worked. Further study may be able to expand upon the relation between foreign craftsmen and the local talent pool. The present study concludes that local artisans were active in the workshops where early Gandhāran stone carvings were made, and their presence should be factored into any investigation into the origins of Gandhāran sculpture.

Notes

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1 Srinivasan, "Gandhāran Textiles," 95–118. See also Srinivasan, "Gandhāran Textile Patterns and Ancient Pottery Patterns."
2 Gail, "On the Beginning of a Figurative Representation," especially p. 435, although I do not necessarily agree with other points in this chapter; also Van Kooij, "Architectural Context of the Early Buddha Image," 511.
3 Fussman, "Numismatic and Epigraphic Evidence," 67ff. For dating of the Bīmarān relic casket, see Carter, "Reappraisal of the Bimaran Reliquary," 84. See also the entry by N. Kreitman in Errington and Cribb, *Crossroads of Asia,* 189–92. But note that the Bīmarān reliquary is dated ca. late first century BCE in Huntington, *Art of Ancient India,* 113.
4 E.g., see Carter, "Gandhāran Bronze Buddha Statuette."
5 See Pal, "Pre-Kushan Buddha Image," 1ff, n. 5. See also Lohuizen-de Leeuw, "New Evidence with Regard to the Origin of the Buddha Image," 391–93, figs. 22–25.
6 For archaeological evidence, see Faccenna, "Excavations of the Italian Archaeological Mission (IsMEO) in Pakistan," 174; for stylistic evidence, see Lohuizen-de Leeuw, "New Evidence with Regard to the Origin of the Buddha Image," 377ff.
7 Lohuizen-de Leeuw, "New Evidence with Regard to the Origin of the Buddha Image," figs. 6, 7, 13, 18.
8 See Srinivasan, "Gandhāran Textiles," 101–3 and n. 25.
9 Marshall, *Buddhist Art of Gandhāra,* 55–58; Foucher, "Les bas-reliefs du stūpa de Sikri"; Lohuizen-de Leeuw, *The "Scythian" Period,* 100–101, 108–10.
10 Lohuizen-de Leeuw, *The "Scythian" Period,* 109, n. 108.

11 See Errington, "Site Provenance of Gandhāra Sculpture," 76, map B.
12 Marshall, *Buddhist Art of Gandhāra*, 40-41.
13 It is of course well known that the area encompassed by the chosen sites was repeatedly subjected to a series of foreign invaders. By the mid-second century BCE, the Indo-Greeks ruled below the Hindu Kush from strong centres in eastern Afghanistan (Begram), the Peshawar Plains (Charsadda), and the Punjab (Taxila). Indo-Greek power was eroded by successive waves of invading hordes. The Śakas, or Scythians, the Parthians, and the Kuṣāṇas brought Greek rule to an end. By about 100 BCE one of the chiefs of the Scythian tribes had come into the Swāt Valley and seized parts of the NWFP; by about 90-80 BCE he had interrupted Indo-Greek rule in Taxila and established himself as king there. A Scythian, Rajuvula, ruled in Mathurā and by about 10 CE conquered the last Greek bastion that remained at Sialkot in eastern Punjab. Scythian rule was shaken by the Parthians of Iran; this occurred in the early decades of the Christian era. By about the middle of the first century CE, the Kuṣāṇas entered the NWFP and the Punjab. They vanquished the descendants of the Scythians and Parthians and pushed into the Gangetic Plains, including Mathurā, in about the second half of the first century CE. This territory (and more) came to be known as the Kuṣāṇa Empire.
14 See Srinivasan, "Gandhāran Textiles," 95-98; Srinivasan, "Swāti Textiles."
15 Srinivasan, "Gandhāran Textiles," 100-113.
16 Fabrègues, "Indo-Parthian Beginnings of Gandhāran Sculpture."
17 Kurita, *Gandhāran Art I*, 65, fig. 129.
18 Nasir, Rafiq, and Roberts, *Wild Flowers of Pakistan*, 244.
19 See Callieri, *Saidu Sharif I*, 1, fig. 185, nos. 281-85 and no. 292. For an analysis regarding naturalistic and geometric patterns, cf. Srinivasan, "Gandhāran Textiles," 220. Note that on the left side of the Sikri textile (fig. 11.2), there is a vertical row of discs which is not echoed on the right side between the tulip and the branch designs. This sort of inconsistency is not unusual in folk crafts.
20 Cf. Srinivasan, "Swāti Textiles," pl. 7 (please note that pl. 7 is upside down). Also see Callieri, *Saidu Sharif I*, fig. 185, mentioned in note 19 above.
21 Srinivasan, "Swāti Textiles," 18-19, pl. 2. Mentioned on p. 18 is British Museum no. OA 1966-10-17.1, which is, however, not reproduced in pl. 2 of the publication. Please see this relief in Zwalf, *Catalogue of Gandhāra Sculpture*, vol. 2, no. 232.
22 Srinivasan, "Swāti Textiles," 27-29. Also illustrated in Lohuizen-de Leeuw, "New Evidence with Regard to the Origin of the Buddha Image," figs. 6, 7.
23 Nasir, Rafiq, and Roberts, *Wild Flowers of Pakistan*, 12, pl. 5.
24 Ibid., 116-18; see especially 120, no. 295; pl. 48, 128-29; no. 320, pl. 51.
25 See Marshall, *Buddhist Art of Gandhāra*, fig. 62.
26 On the Sanskrit term *mañca*, Pāli *mañcaka* (meaning bedstead, couch, raised seat, dais, etc.), see Srinivasan, "Swāti Textiles," 35.
27 Faccenna, *Sculptures from the Sacred Area of Butkara I*, no. 2472, pls. 152-53.
28 Ibid., no. 3591, pl. 288a.
29 Ibid., no. 2549, pl. 288b.
30 This relief is now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, no. IS 70-1880. For a good illustration of it, see Ackermann, *Narrative Stone Reliefs from Gandhāra*, pl. LIV.
31 Some publications specializing in jewellery in Gandhāran art are Tissot, "Jewelry in Gandhāran Art," 399-411; Woodford Schmidt, "Replicas of Chain Necklaces with Figural Terminals" and "The Sacred and the Secular"; Fabrègues, "Jewellery of Gandhāra."
32 E.g., Butkara I, inv. nos. 3496 and 2530 in Faccenna, *Sculptures from the Sacred Area of Butkara I*, vol. 2.2, pls. 146a and 156a.
33 E.g., Butkara I, inv. nos. 824, 3019, 1704 in ibid., pls. 138, 144, 180.
34 Ibid., pl. 166.

35 Ibid., 46.
36 Ibid., pl. 206.
37 See Marshall, *Taxila,* vol. 2, ch. 37.
38 Callieri, *Saidu Sharif I,* 167–70.
39 Kenoyer, *Ancient Cities of the Indus Civilization,* 180–81, figs. 9.15, 9.19.
40 This is the position taken by Chantal Fabrègues in the paper delivered at the symposium "On the Cusp of an Era: Art in the Pre-Kushan World" (Nov. 8–12, 2000).
41 Faccenna, *Sculptures from the Sacred Area of Butkara I,* vol. 2.2, pl. 143.
42 A collar-type necklace can also be termed a pectoral. On the unifying iconography designated by a variety of terms in current use, see Carter, "Note on a Sarapis-like bust," 16, n. 1. I have here reserved the term "torque" for the crescent-shaped collar worn close to the neck.
43 Note that rectangular pendants are suspended from the collar cord seen on several figures shown in the piece from Butkara I, inv. no. 824, published in Faccenna, *Sculptures from the Sacred Area of Butkara I,* vol. 2.2, pl. 138.
44 Ibid., pl. 200.
45 Ibid., 53.
46 It is Francine Tissot who has given this fine definition for what she calls a "saltire" in her "Jewelry in Gandhāran Art," 399, n. 1.
47 Faccenna, *Sculptures from the Sacred Area of Butkara I,* vol. 2.3, pl. 493b. The relief is not part of Group I.
48 Lahore Museum no. G461. The pattern on this base closely resembles the Haḍḍa carpet design.
49 According to Anna Maria Quagliotti, "An Inscribed Image of Hariti," 55, n. 35, no. 6000, is placed by Faccenna into Group I.
50 See Faccenna, *Sculptures from the Sacred Area of Butkara I,* vol. 2.2, 49, pl. 180; 41, pl. 146a; 49, pl. 177; and fig. 7, quoted in Quagliotti, "An Inscribed Image of Hariti."
51 N.P. Joshi, *Mathurā Sculptures* (Mathurā, India: Archaeological Museum, 1966), fig. 5.
52 Faccenna, *Sculptures from the Sacred Area of Butkara I,* vol. 2.2, pl. 143.
53 Ibid., pls. 143 and 146a, respectively.
54 Ibid., pl. 195.
55 Ebert, *Parinirvana,* 115–16; tafel 7, no. 11. Note that Marshall in *Buddhist Art of Gandhāra,* 49, pl. 44, fig. 68, also considers this work to be the oldest *parinirvāṇa* scene that he knows.
56 Ebert, *Parinirvana,* 115.
57 Faccenna, *Sculptures from the Sacred Area of Butkara I,* vol. 2.2, pl. 288a–b.
58 Ibid., pl. 284a.
59 See Ebert, *Parinirvāṇa,* 95–100, especially see fig. 4. For example, Ebert does not consider that variations in the basic sequence of forms comprising the Gandhāran furniture leg could be due to the predilections of particular carpenters in different regions of Gandhāra. Indeed, the possibility of variations in carpenters' work could be deduced from Ebert's allusion to a particular characteristic noticed in the legs from Sanghao-Nathu (see ibid., 100).
60 See Marshall, *Taxila,* vol. 3, 220, no. 118, which was found at Dharmarājikā *Stūpa* D3, 5 ft. 6 in. below the surface (ibid., vol. 2, 717), just as no. 121 (see vol. 2, 718).
61 See Ebert, *Parinirvāṇa,* 99, n. 588.
62 Two or three cords crossed in front hold the turban together. For other examples of early turban types, see Lohuizen-de Leeuw, "New Evidence with Regard to the Origin of the Buddha Image," 387 and n. 28.
63 See ibid., figs. 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, and 13.
64 See Morehart, "Early Sculpture at Palmyra," 59–62 and figs. 10–11.
65 See Marshall, *Buddhist Art of Gandhāra,* fig. 67.

66 Ebert's "Verfallszeit," Aj. See Ebert, *Parinirvāṇa*, 96, fig. 4.
67 See Marshall, *Buddhist Art of Gandhāra*, fig. 77.
68 See Paul, *Gandhāra Sculptures in the Chandigarh Museum*, 254, acc. no. 2066.
69 See Faccenna, *Sculptures from the Sacred Area of Butkara I*, vol. 2.2, pl. 143 (inv. no. 2353); pl. 200 (inv. no. 1240); pl. 210 (inv. no. 3799). The Buddha on the Haḍḍa relief (I.S. 70-1880) also shows these two stylistic characteristics.
70 See Ebert, *Parinirvāṇa*, 103, fig. 6, and the discussion on 102-15. Ebert recognized two Gandhāran *parinirvāṇa* examples. The first is his fig. 5; the second is illustrated in ibid., tafel 10, fig. 17 and fig. 6 (top row, middle drawing).
71 Srinivasan, "Swāti Textiles," 24-25.
72 Faccenna, *Sculptures from the Sacred Area of Butkara I*, vol. 2.2, pl. 140a; inv. no. 1211.
73 See Curtis, "Parthian and Sasanian Furniture," pl. 78q, for the backless bench throne on the British Museum gold coin of Vima Kadphises; ibid., pl. 78f, g, for the backless throne of Mithradates II (ca. 127-88 BCE), an Arsacid king of western Parthia; ibid., pl. 78l for the throne with the crossbar on which Zeus is seated, on the British Museum coin (no. 1894-5-6-500) of the Indo-Scythian Maues. A throne with a crossbar is also featured on the reverse of the coinage of the Arsacid kings of the first century BCE, namely Orodes II and Phraates IV.
74 It remains for a future study to determine whether this loose similarity has to do with the fact that the above-cited foreign thrones were themselves influenced by Hellenistic and/or Achaemenian antecedents and thus may not have had a mature tradition to forcefully transmit. Curtis points out, for example, the complexities regarding the Parthian throne shapes. In her article "Parthian and Sasanian Furniture," 233, she observes that even if Parthians derived particular furniture shapes from the Greek and Hellenistic *diphros* (backless throne), their readiness to adopt these may have been due to their acceptance of the idea of the enthronement scene itself from Achaemenian prototypes present in the regions conquered by the Parthians.
75 Curtis, "Parthian and Sasanian Furniture," 236-37. Curtis also observes that the Parthian king of kings never is shown reclining on such a couch. Note, however, that Parthian coins were found in Butkara I, attesting to some sort of contact. See Göbl, *Catalogue of Coins from Butkara I*, pls. I-II.

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12 Ānanda and Vajrapāṇi: An Inexplicable Absence and a Mysterious Presence in Gandhāran Art

ANNA FILIGENZI

If we evaluate the framework of Gandhāran narrative art in relation to the hagiographic literature, we cannot help but be amazed by the absence, or the apparent unrecognizability, of one of the key personalities in the life of the Buddha: Ānanda, the faithful servant, the inseparable companion and the adept physically closest to the Teacher.[1] It is difficult to believe that Gandhāran art wilfully ignored the figure of Ānanda or let it be lost in an anonymous crowd; it is easier to suppose that a criterion of transcodification was used that is no longer recognizable.

Buddhist texts offer a strange, nonlinear image of the relationship between the Buddha and Ānanda. In the dialectic juxtaposition of these two apparently distant and different figures, the traditional literature seems to suggest a metaphor of bipolarity. The life of Ānanda, unfolding in the shadow of the Buddha, is full of contradictions. Despite a close intimacy with his Master and a strong devotion, Ānanda is not the best of disciples. He persists blindly in his weaknesses, and although his heart is humbly devoted to the persona of the Buddha, his conscience is wavering and unstable, continually and fatally sucked into the turbulent vortex of passion. Above all he loves women: he cannot get them out of his mind and often has a dangerous complicity with them. Why then does the Buddha choose Ānanda, rather than the many others, as a servant, as the custodian of his physical person, and as confidant privy to secrets and ideas that no one else may hear? Ānanda is the only one in the community of monks who has not reached the state of *arhat,* which he will attain only through great struggle.[2] Yet the Buddha is patient and indulgent with him, even with his weakness concerning women. The traditional literature comes straight to this point, as for example when the Buddha calmly answers Ānanda's insistent questions on how conduct oneself with women,[3] or when he grants Ānanda's request to allow women into the order, stating that in this way the Doctrine in the world will last only half as long.[4] The Buddha completely entrusts his body to Ānanda, who takes advantage of this,

raising the Master's clothes to show his phallus to a group of women, and allowing the women to adore his body and contaminate it with their tears.[5]

So who is Ānanda? Who is this inconstant, wavering figure who, despite being slave to his base nature and to his incurable passions, is allowed to be so close to the Buddha? A normal human being, one would suppose, sincerely converted and full of religious feeling, but incapable of moving in the right direction; one who recognizes his Master, but knows not how to emulate him; one who loves the Buddha's person, who takes care of him but does not really understand him until after a long and almost passive period of learning. Yet it is Ānanda who, more than any other adept, comes to know the dharma to the extent that the Buddha himself praises his wisdom and knowledge.[6] He alone is credited with hearing the enunciation of the Doctrine in its entirety: without Ānanda, who represents the historical memory of the Buddha, the *saṁgha* would be lost. As the Buddha declared, he is the best in erudition (*bahuśruta*) and retentive memory (*smṛtimat*);[7] in Buddhist writings, and even commonly today, he is called the *Dhamma-bhaṇḍāgārika,* the "treasurer of the Dhamma," that is to say, in a certain sense, the physical body of the Dharma.[8] The assembly of monks who meet after the death of the Buddha accuse Ānanda of faults and omissions but cannot do without him. Orphan of the persona of the Buddha, the sole, useless heir of all of his words, Ānanda is forced to measure his inferiority in the presence of the *arhat* assembly. This burning humiliation pushes him to a supreme effort: to conquer the *arhat* state in time to take part in the council. Ānanda pursues this goal painfully and in vain, his mind in torment, until, overcome by exhaustion, he falls asleep. At that very moment, with his feet suspended in the air and his head not yet resting on the pillow, he achieves the *arhat* state, "free from the four postures of standing, sitting, walking and lying down."[9]

In the context of Buddhist ideology, Ānanda seems to represent the *srotāpanna,* the auditor who despite having entered the mainstream remains at an inferior level, or *upāsana.* He lives through a spiritual identification, overflowing with love and devotion, with an immanent entity: the Teacher, the *physical* persona of the Buddha. The decisive psychic event of the reception of the teaching has not yet entered his mind. He knows the Doctrine, but it has not yet transfigured his conscience, as he has not yet realized the intuitive identification with the transcendent Buddha. It is not by chance that, at the moment of the Buddha's passing, the serene composure of the monks finds a pathetic contrast in Ānanda's desperation. Certainly, not all human beings are given to transcendent experiences, yet this does not exclude them from salvation. The fact that they have started along the way means that eventually they will reach detachment, just as Ānanda will, after having experienced the separation from the physical persona of the Buddha.[10] Two important factors

seem to be reflected in this metaphorical tale: the scholastic attitude, documented in literature, that marks the overcoming of certain Hīnayānic ideas and their metaphysical ontology, and the transcendent reevaluation of the Tathāgata.[11]

The very name of Ānanda is full of meaning. According to the Upaniṣadic texts, *ānanda* is the ecstasy of the union with the supreme *ātman,* which man experiences in deep sleep, that is to say in the state where the psyche, detached from the reality around it, opens up to the universal Conscience.[12] Ānanda experiences, and symbolically personifies, two different degrees of ecstatic union: first, the karmic happiness of devotion and physical vicinity to the terrestrial Buddha (achieved by being his servant and inseparable companion), then the ineffable happiness of identification with the transcendent Buddha in the absence of the physical Teacher. For Ānanda, as is written in the destiny of his name, the access to this state comes through the door of sleep, in the void of the psyche, which has finally calmed down.

With his obstinate permanence in the sphere of *kāmadhatu,* Ānanda is not only the symbol of corporeality, of the psychic *dynamis* that chains man to *saṃsāra,* but also illustrates an ideological attitude of Buddhism toward human nature that stigmatizes it as weak and imperfect and yet reveres it as the necessary substratum of the Conscience. Seen from this perspective, Ānanda represents the physical support of the existence of the Buddha himself, his contingent residue, his permanence in history. According to the texts, he was born either on the same day as the Buddha or on the day of his enlightenment.[13] He is, in a certain sense, his double, his earthly and opaque counterpart, the servant who carries the weight of the eternal and dynamic *prakṛti.* In this functional splitting, the burden of corporeality already seems distant to the living Buddha, and at the same time ennobled as the necessary instrument of transmission across history.

If these ideas were to be portrayed in art, as I think they are, such a complex character would face the problem of being made recognizable. Visually, Ānanda could not be a monk among monks, as he is something more and something less. The texts do not even agree on the date of his ordination: in the *Theragāthā* it is even stated that he lived as a *sekha,* a learner, for twenty-five years; he is not an *arhat,* notwithstanding he is the most direct witness of the divinity;[14] he is the inseparable companion of the Buddha, but he is also his servant, the hypostasis of his physical needs—which is to say, in a more general sense, the symbol of the manifest nature whose inferiority can, however, be redeemed. It is precisely because of his attachment to both the earthly sphere and the divine realm that Ānanda is an ambivalent figure whose essential character actually resides in a multiform nature. In fact, a personality does exist in the figurative repertory of Gandhāran art who seems to bring together the fleet-

ing qualities of Ānanda, and that is Vajrapāṇi, the perpetual acolyte of the Buddha.

I am aware that I am touching upon one of the most debated subjects in the field of Gandhāran iconography, and I do not intend to discuss here all the attempts made by different scholars to find a satisfactory explanation of this peculiar character—they are too well known and this space is too limited.[15] I will confine myself to the interpretation proposed by Foucher, who recognizes the *vajra* bearer of Gandhāran reliefs as the *yakṣa* Vajrapāṇi, the most pertinent interpretation, in his opinion, of the function and iconographic attire assigned to this figure by Gandhāran artists.[16] This opinion, expanded upon by Lamotte, remains widely accepted.[17] Yet such an interpretation has weak points in both its intrinsic and extrinsic value. First of all, it does not explain the iconographic variability of the *vajra* bearer. It is difficult to agree with Foucher when he labels this variability as a mere expedient used by Gandhāran artists in order to avoid monotony;[18] moreover, if these artists, as Foucher himself often argues, carefully tried to avoid risks of misinterpretation, they would not have dressed a *yakṣa* as a monk, as the *vajra* bearer is shown at times.[19] Besides, there are several reliefs in which the *yakṣa* Vajrapāṇi (this time fully recognizable as the *yakṣa* of the texts) is represented as an independent character and takes part in a scene along with, and therefore different from, the eternal Buddha's acolyte: these relate to the story of the *nāga* Apalāla,[20] or Elapatra.[21] If we accept the hypothesis that the *vajra* bearer of the Gandhāran reliefs is to be identified with the *yakṣa* Vajrapāṇi, it makes no sense for the artist to have represented the same character twice in a scene where no temporal dissociation is needed; doubled images are often used in Gandhāran reliefs, but only to represent two different moments of the same event, an expedient clearly unnecessary in this context.[22] In the relief illustrated here (fig. 12.1) it seems rather that the artist, in order to avoid confusion, deliberately rendered the two *vajra* bearers as differently as possible, underlining the near-wild nature of the *yakṣa* and the superior nature of the Buddha's attendant by means of an ostentatious difference in clothes and postures.

So high was the value assigned by Gandhāran artists to the iconography of the *vajra* bearer that they changed its attire even within the same frieze.[23] Thus, this variability must be read as a determining sign whose sense might be obscure to us but not, we may suppose, to Gandhāran viewers, who could easily (and correctly) understand it thanks to their living experience of the religious atmosphere of the time and to an intact iconographic context.

The iconographic variability of the *vajra* bearer revolves around two stable points: the constant presence of the *vajra* and his special position with respect to the Buddha. As regards the latter, I do not believe one can deny that it



FIGURE 12.1. The Submission of Apalāla (from Grünwedel, fig. 45).

always appears portrayed as an inferior, ancillary position. The presence of the *camara* underlines, albeit sporadically, a feeling of devoted subordination. The emphasis that the iconography places on this junior position of the *vajra* bearer conflicts with the efforts made by some scholars to recognize in him a sign of the Buddha's regality or magic power, which would have required a more hieratic figure.[24] As for the lack of iconographical uniformity, it loses its disconcerting ambiguity when compared, on the literary side, to the elusive portrait of Ānanda. Sometimes depicted in the lowly dress of a pariah, sometimes in the proud attire of a young Heracles or in the tired and distressed clothes of a mature Heracles, as well as in the faun-like attire of a satyr or of Silenus, the *vajra* bearer (or Vajrapāṇi, if we retain the literal meaning of this name without any confusion with the homonymous *yakṣa*) represents, in the domain of visual art, the fluctuating horizon of a psyche that is still dominated by passion. He is, in my opinion, the iconographical counterpart of the metaphor concealed in Ānanda's life story: a slave to his own inferior nature, like a pariah, but also a servant working toward his own redemption, like

Heracles. Yet, like Heracles, the *vajra* bearer (i.e., Vajrapāṇi/Ānanda) is also a suffering hero who through his labours transfigures himself, taming his own nature and thus elevating and civilizing the entire sphere of human nature. Just as Heracles is the witness of divinity, so is Vajrapāṇi/Ānanda the witness of the Buddha, his faithful companion, who has heard his every word and seen his every gesture. Like a satyr, Vajrapāṇi/Ānanda loves women and excesses (Kassapa would call the aged Ānanda a *kumāraka,* a youngster who did not know his measures).[25] Just like the old Silenus, who, after having sublimated the excesses of his own nature, represents the prototype of the wise educator, so will Vajrapāṇi/Ānanda become the educator of the *saṁgha,* to which he transmits the Doctrine preached by the Buddha in a complete form.[26]

As regards the supposed identity between the Gandhāran *vajra* bearer and the *yakṣa* of the texts, another incongruity can be pointed out: the *yakṣa* should, as a genius or angel, be an invisible presence (except perhaps for rare manifestations). The Gandhāran reliefs often seem to conceive the *vajra* bearer as a passive or quiet character rather than as an invisible spirit; nevertheless, in several scenes the *vajra* bearer is shown in conversation with other characters[27] or held up by a mourning man in the *Parinirvāṇa* scene.[28] In addition, other aspects of the Gandhāran *vajra* bearer are hardly consistent with the *yakṣa,* whereas they could be easily explained if applied to Ānanda. Foucher noted the presence of the *vajra* bearer in some contexts that are not related to the life of Śākyamuni: the story of Dīpaṃkara Buddha and an incomplete frieze showing the seven past Buddhas with Maitreya, each accompanied by his own *vajra* bearer.[29] Foucher sees in these reliefs the proof that the *yakṣa* Vajrapāṇi is the tutelary genius of every Buddha, thus reinforcing his interpretation of Vajrapāṇi as a mere *emploi* rather than a real character.[30] However, if the texts are silent on this subject, from the beginning they are, on the contrary, much interested in the Buddha's assistants, whose names are recorded by the *Mahāvadāna sūtra,* the last one being Ānanda.[31]

However, as in many other cases, the figurative story is at variance with the written source. Literature relies on the slower rhythm of the word, iconography on the swifter rhythm of the eye. In visual art, the horizontal unfolding of the text has to be replaced with a synthesis that can, within certain limits, remix or annul the temporal succession of events, condensing or emphasizing the content. Ānanda, according to literary tradition, became the Buddha's attendant when the Teacher was fifty-five years old, an age that in the ancient world marked the waning of life.[32] In this phase of heading toward old age the body, which becomes clumsy, shows the limits of matter. This is the moment in which the symbolic detachment of the Buddha from his terrestrial shell becomes inevitable and is externalized in a sort of alter ego (Ānanda) who takes this burden onto himself.



FIGURE 12.2. Buddha with female worshippers and Vajrapāṇi (from Marshall, *Taxila*, vol. 3, pl. 221, no. 121).

In visual communication, however, this purely anagraphical limit between a *before* and an *after* becomes a fairly useless sign, not only because the canonical image of the Buddha cannot age but because the chronological boundary in question exists in the psychic rather than the physical sphere; figurative art does not have the extendible space that writing has, but rather exists in an enclosed space where time condenses and meanings expand. Vajrapāṇi/Ānanda therefore appears at the moment of the Great Departure, and in iconography this is the moment marking the split of Siddhārtha both in historic and psychic time. Vajrapāṇi/Ānanda is usually represented in the background, more like a premonition than as a real physical presence. He only rarely appears, before this event, in the depiction of the presentation of Yaśodharā,[33] possibly to underline the most important tribute that Siddhārtha pays to terrestrial life. For the rest, the distance between iconography and literature decreases. Vajrapāṇi/Ānanda is the Buddha's shadow and grieves at his Teacher's death

just as Ānanda, according to the story of the *Saṃyutta Nikāya,* had grieved at the death of his friend Sāriputta, trembling with despair and confusion and so revealing, once again, his lack of detachment.[34] Even Ānanda's complicity with women finds space in a non-narrative dimension, which shows him as a sort of patron in an assembly of female worshippers of the Buddha (fig. 12.2).

In the whole of the story of Vajrapāṇi/Ānanda, the only constant element in the changeability of his forms – which symbolically portrays the singularity of his experiences – is the attribute of the *vajra,* the most eloquent sign of his belonging to the earth, but at the same time of the seed of salvation concealed in his nature.[35] The *vajra,* the weapon Indra employs to divide earth and sky, giving cosmic order his perennial flow, is an attribute used in iconography with a certain variability. The iconographic *vajra,* however, never loses its links with the ancient cosmogonic myths: it is an offensive weapon that destroys in order to give new life, as in the case of the tantric Vajrapāṇi. It is also a phallic symbol, which reminds us of the spermatic force connected to Indra, and it is the symbol of Mount Meru, the place where earth and sky meet. One could say that the *vajra* is therefore connected to the idea of the manifest universe – the world of forms, changeable and impermanent – but, at the same time, to the idea of the divine immanent in this universe, visually represented by the shape of the hourglass in which the two opposite shapes meet.

This particular symbolism of the *vajra* appears to find a more explicit form in the later Buddhist iconography, where a *vajra*-shaped throne often supports seated deities such as the Buddha or the Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi/Vajrasattva.[36] In all these depictions, the *vajra*-shaped throne has a rocky appearance, with clear connections to the sacred mountain. This is particularly evident in the case of Vajrapāṇi/Vajrasattva (fig. 12.3), linked to a Buddhist version of the stirring of the milk ocean in which Mount Meru is said to have been used as a pivot and the *nāgas* as ropes.[37] Moreover, in Japanese iconography this kind of throne becomes the *sendai-za,* which explicitly traces its origin to Mount Meru.[38]

Yet Buddhist iconography seems to attach a wider meaning to such symbolism; through the odd blending of *vajra* and rock it conveys the idea of the worldly level of existence, an idea vividly illustrated by the distinctly animated human and animal figures inhabiting the recesses of the throne (figs. 12.4 and 12.5). Sometimes these recesses are separated by *vajra*-shaped pilasters (fig. 12.6) or by actual *vajras,* as in Pāla art (fig. 12.7), as if to reiterate the symbolic link of this object with earth and heaven. There is no doubt that the vivid universe lying beneath the deity is the necessary counterpart of heaven, the womb of the manifested dharma. We should then consider the *vajra* as a reminder of the essential identity of the two parts of the cosmos and a promise



FIGURE 12.3. Vajrapāṇi/Vajrasattva on a *vajra*-shaped throne (from Pal, no. 59).



FIGURE 12.4. Buddha on an inhabited *vajra*-shaped throne (from Pal, no. 22).



FIGURE 12.5. Rear view of fig. 12.4.

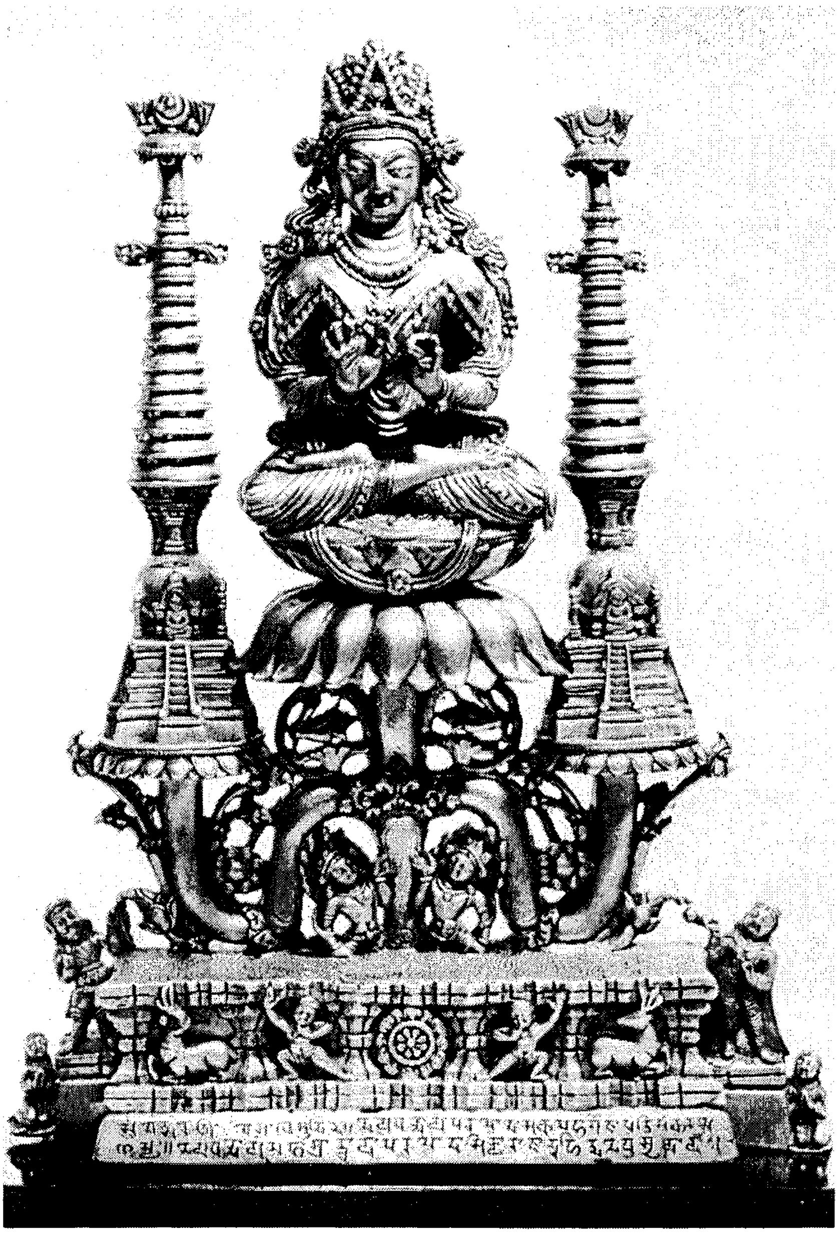


FIGURE 12.6. Buddha *paré* (from Pal, no. 30).



FIGURE 12.7. Buddha image from Benares (from J.P. Vogel, pl. LXIII, p. 3).

of their reunion, like a sort of cosmic pillar. Man is often unaware of this identity until he has released his mind from desire. The *vajra* that Vajrapāṇi/Ānanda abandons in desperation at the Buddha's death is like the overturned torch of Cautes/Cautopates. Death is a passage upwards; this was understood by the monks, but not by Vajrapāṇi/Ānanda, who was still attached to life and to its blinding passions. However, just like his *vajra*, in which at its narrowest point two worlds met, Vajrapāṇi/Ānanda, through painful empathy, seemed himself to experience a regenerating death, which for him would mark the awakening of Conscience.

NOTES

1 The identification of Ānanda in Gandhāran reliefs remains doubtful; see, for example, the relief depicting the story of the *Māṭaṅgi* in Foucher, *L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra*, vol. 1, 501, fig. 250, where, even if the identification is correct, the figure of Ānanda is lost. The same is true for the story called by Foucher "La frayeur d'Ānanda," ibid., vol. 1, 499, fig. 249; the "Intervention of Ānanda," ibid., vol. 2, 272–75, fig. 443; Zwalf, *Catalogue of Gandhāra Sculpture*, nos. 206–7. As regards these last two scenes, Foucher himself points out the ambiguity of the subject, or the discrepancies between the texts and the iconography.

2 In the Pāli stories related to the council held after the Buddha's death to rehearse the dharma, there are repeated allusions to this striving, to which Ānanda is pushed not only by his own desire, but also by the incitement of some monks. See Malalasekera, *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, s.v. "Ānanda," 532.

3 Before the Buddha passes away, Ānanda inquires, "How are we to conduct ourselves, lord, with regard to womankind?" "As not seeing them, Ānanda." "But if we should see them, what are we to do?" "No talking, Ānanda." "But if they should speak to us, lord, what are

we to do?" "Keep wide awake, Ānanda." (Rhys Davids and Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha,* vol. 3, 154). These questions, rather out of place in such a delicate moment, reveal all the human fragility of Ānanda, whom the same text describes as despairing over the imminent death of his Master, as he has yet to work out his own emancipation (ibid., 157).

4 Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha,* 60–62; Hare, *Book of the Gradual Sayings,* vol. 4, 181–85.

5 Rockhill, *Life of the Buddhas,* 154; Malalasekera, *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism,* 532.

6 Woodward, *Book of the Gradual Sayings (Aṅguttara-Nikāya), I,* 205.

7 Ibid., 19–20.

8 Malalasekera, *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism,* 531.

9 Ibid., 532.

10 Falk, *Il mito psicologico nell'India antica,* 416–23.

11 Ibid., 429–32.

12 Ibid., 65, 75, n. 2.

13 Malalasekera, *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism,* 529.

14 Ibid.

15 The reader will find a useful and quick review of the different hypotheses in Santoro, "Il Vajrapāṇi nell'arte del Gandhāra," and "Note di iconografia gandhārica V."

16 Foucher, *L'Art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra,* vol. 1, 562–65; vol. 2, 48–64.

17 Lamotte, "Vajrapāṇi en Inde."

18 Foucher, *L'Art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra,* vol. 2, 60, n. 1.

19 See the numerous specimens in the synopsis provided by Santoro, "Il Vajrapāṇi nell'arte del Gandhāra," 306–36.

20 Foucher, *L'Art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra,* vol. 1, 544–53; Zwalf, *Catalogue of Gandhāra Sculpture,* nos. 214–16.

21 Grünwedel, *Buddhist Art in India,* 94.

22 According to Sénart, "Vajrapāṇi dans les sculptures du Gandhāra," 124, the double appearance of Vajrapāṇi in these scenes offers proof of the inseparability of the genius from the Buddha's person. Foucher accepts this view, but also suggests that in this specific context the double Vajrapāṇi is an iconographic expedient that transforms an ancient model (the Hymn of the *nāga* Kālika) into a new one (the Submission of Apalāla). See Foucher, *L'Art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra,* vol. 1, 553; vol. 2, 61. Both hypotheses are reasonable, but not completely convincing.

23 Foucher, *L'Art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra,* vol. 2, 60; Ingholt, *Gandhāran Art in Pakistan,* pl. 189; Ackermann, *Narrative Stone Reliefs from Gandhāra,* pls. D, XL; Zwalf, *Catalogue of Gandhāra Sculpture,* no. 131.

24 This idea has been especially supported by Bussagli in *L'arte del Gandhāra,* 222–27.

25 Woodward, *Books of the Kindred Sayings, Part II,* 146–47.

26 The literature on these mythical figures being so huge, I refer the reader to specialized works, such as the *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae,* or Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexicon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie.*

27 Ackermann, *Narrative Stone Reliefs from Gandhāra,* pl. XL; Zwalf, *Catalogue of Gandhāra Sculpture,* no. 217.

28 Ackermann, *Narrative Stone Reliefs from Gandhāra,* pl. LII.

29 Foucher, *L'Art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra,* vol. 2, 61, figs. 140–41 (for the Dīpaṃkara story), and fig. 136 (for the Maitreya frieze). Other specimens of the latter kind have come to light: see for instance Faccenna, *Sculptures from the Sacred Area of Butkara I,* vol. 1, 27, pl. LXXXIIa, and Zwalf, *Catalogue of Gandhāra Sculpture,* nos. 118, 121.

30 Foucher, *L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra,* vol. 2, 60–63.

31 Lamotte, "Vajrapāṇi en Inde," 14, 144–49. We can add, as an indirect proof of the importance of the "assistant" and particularly of Ānanda, the mirrorlike position of Ānanda and the Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi in the Mahāyāna system. They both belong to the Buddha's

intimate entourage (*abhyantaraparivara*) and both are entrusted with the service to the Master: Ānanda as the chief assistant of the Buddha Śākyamuni and the Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi as the perpetual assistant of the Buddhas' *nirmāṇakāya*. The Bodhisattva (he too a *vajra* bearer) seems to have drawn his functions from the model offered by Ānanda, the terrestrial assistant of the Buddha, taking over the same role but on a higher level.

32 Malalasekera, *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, 530.

33 Ingholt, *Gandhāran Art in Pakistan*, pl. 32; Faccenna, *Sculptures from the Sacred Area of Butkara I*, vol. 2, 2, pl. CLXII.

34 Woodward, *Books of the Kindred Sayings, Part V*, 140–43.

35 On this "hidden gem" and the related philosophical problems, see Falk, *Il mito psicologico nell'India antica*, especially 404–15. For an iconographic version of this idea, see Taddei, "Harpocrates-Brahmā-Maitreya."

36 For a quick review of these specimens the reader can refer to Fussmann, "Chilas, Hatun et les bronzes bouddhiques du Cachemire," pls. 23–29, 31, 35–39.

37 Getty, *Gods of Northern Buddhism*, 49.

38 Dale Saunders, *Mudrā*, 132.

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13 Design Diversity in Kaniṣka's Buddha Coins

Ellen M. Raven

When in 1879 the English artist William Simpson uncovered the relic chamber of the Ahinposh stūpa (in present-day southeastern Afghanistan), he found an amulet case containing a small piece of hard substance – perhaps a relic – and two gold coins of the Kuṣāṇa kings Vima Kadphises and Kaniṣka. This case lay on a bed of ashes mixed with eighteen more gold coins: fifteen Kuṣāṇa coins and three Roman ones from the early second century CE. One of the Kuṣāṇa coins outside the amulet case was an 8-gram *stater* now in the British Museum.[1] On the obverse it carries an image of Kaniṣka facing to the left, sacrificing at an altar. On the reverse appears a standing figure identified as Buddha by the Bactrian legend "Boddo" in Greek script in the left field (fig. 13.1). His right hand is raised in *abhayamudrā;* the left holds the end of his



Figure 13.1. Gold *dīnāra* of Kaniṣka I. Obverse: sacrificing king; reverse: Buddha standing to front, raising the right hand in *abhayamudrā*. Ahinposh stūpa. British Museum, India Office Collection. Acc. no. 289 (after Errington and Cribb, fig. 197; by kind permission of the Ancient India and Iran Trust).

garment. Buddha's head is encircled by a halo, which in some dies has a double rim; a mandorla surrounds his body. The hair is drawn into an *uṣṇīṣa* tied with a band. These Buddha coins were probably issued toward the end of Kaniṣka's reign.[2] Only a handful have surfaced since the discovery of the first one; a smaller 2-gram quarter *stater* of Kaniṣka, with a closely comparable standing Buddha, is even scarcer.

Buddha's image was not employed before Kaniṣka on Kuṣāṇa coins, and never again after him. The Buddha is just one of a wide range of deities, from the pantheons of Iran, the Hellenistic world, Rome, and India, selected to express the king's concern for material abundance and prosperity of his realm, military triumph, legitimacy of rule, and divine sanction for his kingship.[3]

Robert Göbl suggested that the Boddo coins were issued to celebrate the establishment of Kaniṣka's famous stūpa at Puruṣapura, of which remains have been excavated at Shah-ji-ki-Dheri.[4] Such rare issues for special occasions fell outside the usual coin design program, which may explain why the design was not reused in later times and why such coins are now rare.

Kuṣāṇa Copper Buddha Coins

Kuṣāṇa coinage started with the issue of copper coins only in the reign of Kujula Kadphises, the great-grandfather of Kaniṣka. The 8-gram *dīnāra* in gold was added as a convenient multiple of the copper, together with a 2-gram quarter *dīnāra* and a 16-gram double *dīnāra,* under Kujula's grandson, Vima Kadphises.[5]

Kaniṣka's copper coins with a Buddhist device carry on their obverse an image of the king standing to the left. Their reverse divides them into two basic types: one with a standing Buddha identified by its Bactrian legend as Śākyamuni and the other with a seated figure identified by its legend as Maitreya.[6] These coppers exist in three denominations: *tetradrachmas* of 16 grams and smaller fractions of 4-gram *drachmas* and 8-gram *didrachmas.*

The copper coins with a Buddha or Maitreya are rare among the recovered *tetradrachmas* of Kaniṣka, but they once must have circulated in considerable numbers in the expansive Kuṣāṇa territory.[7] Robert Göbl assumed that these coppers were made at the same mint where the gold Boddo coins were struck, and for the same occasion as the gold series. David MacDowall, however, found the style, form, and arrangement of the letters in the legends very different from those on other copper or gold coins from the main mint. The letters on the Boddo coins are spidery, often badly formed, and sometimes inverted. Legends start in different locations in almost every die, and there is little consistency in the direction of reading. MacDowall also pointed out that on the copper coins the figures are identified by their full name, instead of the short Boddo. He suggested, therefore, that these copper coins may have

been struck in an irregular mint on the occasion of the third Buddhist Council that was convened by Kaniṣka in Kashmir.[8] Given that a Kuṣāṇa mint was active in that part of the empire, it is tempting to assume that the Buddha and Maitreya coins were struck close to where the council was to be held. However, nothing in their design or fabric conforms to coin series that have been attributed to the Kashmir mint on other grounds. Their mint provenance remains unsolved for the time being.

Charles Masson found several Buddha coppers at Begram. Via the India Office collection, these found their way to the British Museum in 1879. In the 1980s, Joe Cribb discussed the gold and copper Boddo coins in various articles; he was the first to identify the seated Buddha as Maitreya. Cribb's studies exemplify what has fascinated scholars most about these coins: that the images can be compared with early Buddhist sculptures in other media and formats. The coin images are expected to illustrate a Kaniṣkan or pre-Kaniṣkan phase in the development of Buddhist iconography in early Gandhāran style.

Because these copper coins offer such tempting clues for comparisons with sculpture, the design variety of the dies themselves seems to have been underexplored. Even Joe Cribb felt that there was "nothing extraordinary in the iconographic features shown in either of these images."[9] Where he discussed particular stylistic features, it was mostly to compare these with traits of similar sculptures, rather than Buddha devices on other copper coins. In this chapter, I draw attention to the diversity of the design of the Buddha coins proper, as only an adequate awareness of this variety can offer a fruitful basis for seeking parallels in other media and formats.

Classification

First we need to look at Joe Cribb's 1980s classification, which in fact classifies not the coins, but the images on them. He devised two categories only: Class I for a standing Buddha and Class II for a seated Maitreya.

The standing Buddha appears both in gold and in copper, so the images of Class I come from both strata of the corpus of Kuṣāṇa coins. This means that Cribb's overall classification grouped together coins that differ in just about everything except the posture of the Buddha: metal, size, weight, legend on the obverse, legend on the reverse, details in Buddha's image, and the shape and placement of the geometrical symbol. To allow for the many differences, not just those between the images, but also between other elements of the designs, Cribb created seven groups in Class I and three groups in Class II.[10]

All three Buddhas in gold were designated Group IA (whether on *dīnāras* or quarter *dīnāras*) and were described in detail and shown in excellent illus-

trations. The six remaining groups of standing Buddhas (IB–IG), all on coppers, were more concisely presented. The text gives secondary descriptions, using phrases such as "shown in the same way as Group IA" (those on gold) for Buddhas of Group IB (the first coppers to be described) and tertiary descriptions (referring to Group IB) for all other copper Buddhas. Such multiple levels of decreasing detail carry the risk that the general description does not do justice to details at lower levels. I feel that such is the case here. Differences became obscured and consequently ignored in the ensuing process of tracing the parallels and origins of the device.

To illustrate my point, I first focus on the presumed rigid frontality of these Buddhas, which is usually emphasized when they are illustrated or discussed. Second, I take a closer look at their postures and *mudrās,* which, more easily than the legends, identified these devices to the people using the coins.

Frontality of Buddhas in Gold

Joe Cribb emphasized that these Buddha images (meaning Śākyamuni and Maitreya) are based on sculptural images.[11] He referred to the "well-established tradition" (in coin design of Kaniṣka's time) of depicting gods standing and facing to left or right or with a frontally positioned body and the head turned to the side. As Śākyamuni and Maitreya are presented frontally, with "a rigidly vertical frontally presented body as well as forward facing head," they appear to have been modelled after icons.[12] This would imply that by the end of Kaniṣka's reign, Buddha and Maitreya icons could serve as models for the die carvers.

Cribb's emphasis on the frontality of these Buddhist devices suggests that this was a unique feature in Kuṣāṇa numismatic design. However, under Vima Kadphises the main mint already had produced series of copper coins showing the god Oešo leaning on his bull vehicle, his body and face turned to the front.[13] These coins were still circulating in Kaniṣka's time, and his die carvers must have been familiar with them.

More important, though, are these Buddha images really that frontal? In the case of the three series of gold coins, Buddha does indeed face front, though instead of characterizing his posture as "rigidly balanced on a vertical axis,"[14] or "rigid and hieratic,"[15] it is worthwhile to notice how Śākyamuni's body reveals a subtly modelled and restrained twice-bent curve. In fact, these miniature images approach a much larger version, in a frieze of the seven Buddhas from the great stūpa at Butkara I in Swāt (fig. 13.2), which no one would characterize as "rigidly balanced on a vertical axis"! Not only is the posture similar, the shape of the *uṣṇīṣa* (tied with a ribbon), the presence of a moustache, and the hand gestures are also similar.



Figure 13.2. Buddhas standing facing front. Detail of a fragmentary relief in bluish black schist, Butkara I. No. 1551 (after Faccenna, vol. 2, pl. 126 detail).

Variety among the Buddhas in Copper

In the case of the copper coins, the situation is more complex. Joe Cribb concluded from the "uniformity of compositional details" that all standing Buddhas in copper were derived from one and the same sculpture of a standing Buddha facing forward.[16] Differences in the design, he wrote, occur because several artists at the same mint were involved in the work. But is the assumed uniformity really as uniform as Cribb suggested?

In the 1998 volume *Ex Moneta,* Martha Carter published a study of the iconographic details of the Buddha coins. She restricted herself "mainly to the gold coinage, since here the details have far greater clarity."[17] She focused in particular on the body mandorla, tracing it to the imagery of luminous deities in the ancient Near East. Commenting on the coppers, she suggested that "from the variety of Buddhist images on the copper coins, it appears likely that several different models were utilised." She did not go into the differences, because, she said, "few details can be clearly identified, making it impossible to speculate about them."[18] I maintain that the details of the four different Buddhas featured below allow for more than speculation.

Buddha of Group IF

Closest to the Buddhas on the gold coins is the Buddha in Cribb's Group IF (fig. 13.3) on copper double *dīnāras.* He faces us, his right hand raised in *abhayamudrā.* On the abraded coins we can still recognize the low and wide *uṣṇīṣa* tied with a band, the elongated ears, the concentric pleats in the garment, and the feet turned outward. The halo is visible but not very



FIGURE 13.3. Buddha standing facing front, raising his right hand in *abhayamudrā.* Reverse of a copper *tetradrachma* of Kaniṣka I. Cp. Göbl 1984, Series 785. Cribb Group IF. Private collection, Netherlands. Courtesy Jan Lingen.



FIGURE 13.4. The offering of flowers to Buddha, who raises his right hand in *abhayamudrā;* in his left hand, held at waist height, he appears to hold a begging bowl. The end of the cloak hangs down from the left arm, leaving the hand uncovered. Detail of a relief in green schist. Butkara I. No. 4103 (after Faccenna, vol. 2, pl. 22a detail).

prominent. Unlike on the gold coins, the Buddha does not hold the end of his cloak in his left hand near his waist; instead, the garment hangs down from his arm, leaving the hand uncovered.

Cribb referred to the Buddha on the Bīmarān casket (ascribed to the first century CE) as remarkably parallel to the coin image.[19] He emphasized that the cloak dropping down from the hand is rare in Buddha sculptures from Gandhāra, but is known from Mathurān Buddhas. It was indeed much more customary in Gandhāran art to show the Buddha holding the end of the cloak, as he is shown on the gold coins and in many reliefs. But we do come across instances, e.g. at Butkara I, where Śākyamuni rests his hand on or near his waist (fig. 13.4), and the end of the cloak is seen hanging down along his left leg. It would seem that such reliefs, the Bīmarān casket, and this copper coin design incorporate, in different formats and contexts, an accepted alternative for the more familiar cloak-holding Buddha. Ultimately, however, this feature may indeed be traced to early images of the standing Buddha from Mathurā that have their roots in early *yakṣa* imagery.[20]



FIGURE 13.5. Walking Buddha, facing three-quarters to left. He raises his right hand in *abhayamudrā*, his left hand held at the waist. Reverse of a copper *tetradrachma* of Kaniṣka I. Cribb Group ID/die 2. Collection A.I.C. (after Errington and Cribb, fig. 198, reverse; by kind permission of the Ancient India and Iran Trust).

Buddha of Group I/D, /Die 2

Śākyamuni faces the left in three-quarter view on coins of Cribb's variety I/D, /die 2 (fig. 13.5). He rests his weight on his right leg; the left leg is bent at the knee and the heel is raised, not unlike the posture on the Bīmarān reliquary, but more clearly in three-quarter view. This combination of specific postures of body, legs, and heel had come to signify the act of walking in the Gandhāran image repertoire by Kaniṣka's time.[21] Buddha raises his right hand to his chest in a reassuring gesture.

The Buddha on this copper coin is strikingly similar to the Buddha walking (Gandhāran fashion) to the left in three-quarter view in a schist frieze from Butkara I in Swāt (fig. 13.6). There the Buddha holds something in his upturned right hand (palm inward), probably the end of his cloak. One finds Buddha portrayed with his hand raised in this fashion, palm inward but not holding his cloak, in quite a few early narrative reliefs.[22]

Buddha of Group I/D, /Die 1

Far from frontal, and quite different from any of the Buddhas discussed so far, is Śākyamuni on the 16-gram *tetradrachmas* of Group I/D, /die 1 (fig. 13.7). Cribb described the Buddha standing "with his body curved so that the head is above the left foot and the right hip juts out."[23] However, it is not only the curved body that makes this image different from all the others. Buddha seems to step out to his left, his left knee slightly forward. Above his waist the perspective appears to shift to the right, and we can see the full left arm with pleats of the robe curving toward the back and the border curving down from the raised right shoulder toward the left. Thin, widely spaced ridges define the pleats in the robe, which clings to the body.



FIGURE 13.6. Walking Buddha, facing three-quarters to left. He holds the end of his cloak (?) in the upturned right hand; his left hand holds the cloak at waist height. Detail of a relief in green schist. Butkara I. No.V 55 (after Faccenna, vol. 2, pl. 19 detail).

FIGURE 13.7. Buddha standing facing three-quarters to left. He raises his right hand in *abhayamudrā;* his left hand is held near the hip. Reverse of a copper *tetradrachma* of Kaniṣka I. Cribb Group ID/die 1. Hirayama collection (after Tanabe, *Silk Road Coins,* fig. 127).



Although the details in Buddha's face are blurred, we can see more round curls above his left ear than on the opposite side. We can see the full left ear and the proper left side of the fairly small and high *uṣṇīṣa,* indicating a three-quarter turn of the face to our left.

To fit this image into his "one-model-for-all" concept, Joe Cribb explained Buddha's bent posture by assuming that "the die engraver departed from his model and reverted to the normal convention of his art." Although he did not refer to specific coin parallels, it is possible to point out a particular predecessor in Oešo leaning on his bull mount, as depicted on the copper coins of Vima Kadphises (fig. 13.8). But it is equally possible that a different model inspired the die engraver. Surely he must have been familiar with images of the Buddha shown in three-quarter view, which were found in abundance on just about any Gandhāran *stūpa* decorated with Buddhist narratives.

On the abraded surface of these copper coins we can see only traces of fingers, and it is difficult to distinguish the palm of the hand from the back of the hand or trace an outstretched thumb on any of the coins or casts collected by Joe Cribb so far.[24]



FIGURE 13.8. Oešo standing facing front, head turned to the left. He holds a trident in his right hand; the left hand is held at hip height. An animal skin (usually described as lion or tiger) hangs down from the arm. Reverse of a gold *dīnāra,* of Vima Kadphises. British Museum collection. Göbl 1984, Series 5 (after Cribb, "Shiva images on Kushan and Kushano-Sasanian coins," fig. A3).

Buddha I/B, /Die 1, with Sideward Abhaya?

The Buddha in Cribb's Group I/B, /die 1 is one of the boldest, most confidently drawn of the Buddhas on coppers, an image that comes closest to giving expression to his qualities as *cakravartin* (fig. 13.9). On these *tetradrachmas* Śākyamuni faces us full-front, his left leg slightly forward. He is a tall, rather slender man whose bare legs and feet look remarkably as if they are stuck in a Kuṣāṇa king's boots, although of course not intentionally so. The Buddha's *uṣṇīṣa* is low and fairly broad. The broad hem of his garment is draped high across his shoulders, making the border look like a cape. One end of the upper garment hangs down from the left wrist at the waist, apparently covering the left hand as well. The right hand is turned toward the chest in an inward-turned *abhaya* that was not common in early Kuṣāṇa art from Gandhāra, but is quite typical for this *mudrā* at Mathurā, where it occurs not only in the case of images of Śākyamuni, but also in the case of other Buddhist and Hindu figures.[25] Buddha's robe clings closely to his body so that the contours of his body and legs are clearly visible. Michael Mitchener refers to the "transparent garment" convention as a feature of copper coins struck in the southern mints of Kaniṣka.[26] When looking for parallels in sculpture, the link is again with Mathurā, where we find contemporary sculptures wearing similar closely clinging clothes. Very thin incised lines indicate pleats, unlike the pleats in bold relief on the gold coins and the coppers just discussed.



FIGURE 13.9. Buddha standing to front and facing front. He raises his right hand in front of his chest in a sideward *abhayamudrā;* his left hand, partly covered by the end of the cloak, rests on his left hip. Reverse of a copper *didrachma* of Kaniṣka I. Cribb Group IB/die 1. British Museum (after Cribb "Origin of the Buddha Image," fig. 30.2, no. 3 detail).

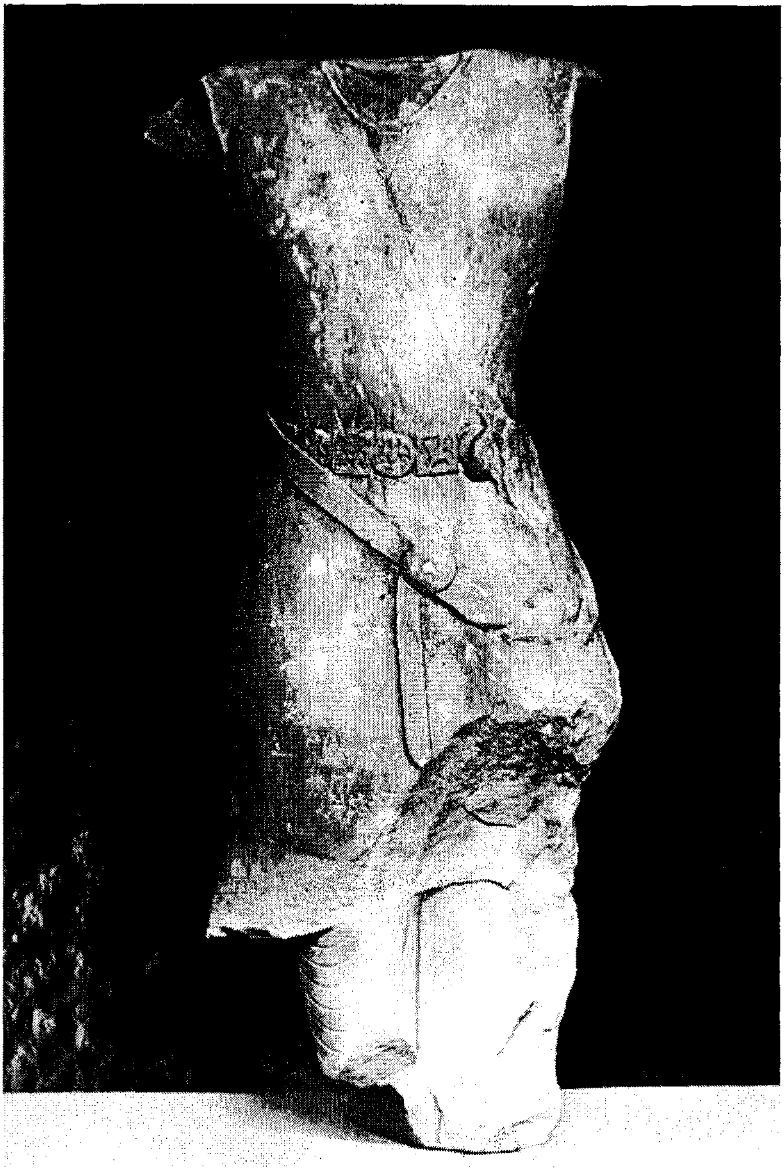


FIGURE 13.10. Image identified as that of Śaka satrap, Caṣṭana. Mat complex at Mathurā. Sikri sandstone, second century CE, h. 1.54 m. Government Museum Mathurā. Acc. no. 12.212. Coll. Vogel, Kern Institute, Leiden, no. p-037411; ASI, Northern Circle, no. 1528. Courtesy Friends of the Kern Institute, Leiden.

Perhaps one of the most remarkable sculptural parallels for the Buddha of Group I/B, /die 1, in style, regal frontality, and boldness, is the well-known image of Śaka satrap, Caṣṭana, from the ancestral image shrine at Mat, near Mathurā (fig. 13.10). The image is thought to date from the reign of Huviṣka.[27] Both this Buddha in copper and the royal portrait at Mat appear to be examples of a shared stylistic idiom in Kuṣāṇa art that differed in details from the style exemplified by coins in gold or copper on which Buddha wears a garment with prominent folds.

Conclusions

Joe Cribb revisited Kaniṣka's Buddha coins in a major contribution published in 2000 in the felicitation volume *Silk Road Art and Archaeology 6* for Francine Tissot.[28] His detailed catalog adds information on seventy-four new specimens and six newly found dies. He discussed the mint attribution of the coins and the reading of the legends, and referred to the ongoing debate about the links between early Gandhāran Buddha sculptures (in particular those at Swāt), images from Mathurā, and the coin images. Contrary to his earlier papers, this contribution from Cribb offered a clearer insight into the links between the Buddha and Maitreya coins and also took up the question of the obverses. He presented an elaborate new die typology, which replaces the earlier unsatisfactory sorting into groups.

Cribb pointed out that "the stylistic variation in the different images has not yet been fully explored."[29] He referred to a 1974 study by Katsumi Tanabe on this aspect.[30] Tanabe suggested a sequence of artistic transformations starting from the Graeco-Bactrian convention of deity representation, through a transitional stage of reflecting most vividly the style of stone Buddha images, to a distinct Kuṣāṇa dynastic or Graeco-Iranian representation. "Tanabe also saw a development in the standing Buddha images as a progressive stylisation from a natural posture, to a rigidly upright one."[31]

Such a gradual development does not fit Joe Cribb's 2000 reconstruction of the creation of the coins. In that paper, he held that the gold coin dies are all the work of a single engraver. As for the coppers, unlike in his earlier papers, Cribb explicitly stated that the Buddha coins reveal "numerous variations in the posture, hand positions and proportions of the Buddha figure, and in the style, direction and position of the inscription; the same can be said for the seated Maitreya images." Moreover, "the differences between the images are such that they could each be the work of a different hand."[32] Cribb preferred not to attempt to characterize the various styles evident in the engravings, nor did he try to trace them to different prototypes.[33] Instead he reaffirmed his old view that these styles are the result of the simultaneous

involvement of several die engravers in a very short period of production, perhaps the last year of Kaniṣka's reign.

Inchang Kim questioned the dependency of these Buddhist coin images on sculptural art, but he did not explain his doubts.[34] I believe that unless we can find strong arguments to the contrary, it seems most likely that the die carvers were indeed inspired by one or more existing icons. Irrespective of how many die engravers were actually involved, the sheer variety of stances, hand gestures, body postures, and details of hairstyle and clothing visible even in such minute Buddha images as those on these coins makes it highly unlikely that only one Buddha served as prototype. Why indeed should we expect the die carvers to follow only one particular icon as prototype, when there must have been many different Buddhas on the *stūpas* of Gandhāra to inspire them? Being artists surrounded by works of art, and working together with fellow artists, surely these die carvers did not work in an iconographic or stylistic vacuum.

Joe Cribb has drawn a direct connection between the Buddha images on Kaniṣka's coins and those sculpted at Mathurā, and he even spoke of them as showing a "Hellenistic rendering of Mathurā forms."[35] There is indeed a definite Mathurā connection present in many elements. The extent to which "Mathurā" can be traced in these Buddha designs, however, varies considerably. Stylistic and compositional links to the reliefs on the *stūpa* at Butkara I in Swāt are equally prominent, and these demand further exploration. Johanna van Lohuizen-de Leeuw felt that early Buddha images from Mathurā influenced early Gandhāran sculpture created at Butkara.[36] But rather than illustrating a "Hellenized rendering of Mathurān forms," the reliefs at Butkara reveal different styles with different origins. We should look at Kaniṣka's Buddha coins with the same eyes.

Notes

1 Numismatists use coins terms derived from Greek coinage, such as *stater,* to denote coins of a certain weight standard from this period.

2 Göbl, *System und Chronologie,* 61–63. More specifically, they were probably issued between years 15 and 23 of the Kaniṣka era, according to MacDowall, "Development of Buddhist Symbolism," 185.

3 Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts of the Kushans,* 70.

4 Göbl, *System und Chronologie,* 19, 62, and "Die Buddha-Darstellungen," 538.

5 MacDowall, "Weight Standards of Gold and Copper Coinages," 74; Göbl, *System und Chronologie,* 59–60.

6 Errington and Cribb, *Crossroads of Asia,* figs. 98–99; Göbl read the legend as *Sakamano Boydo.* Cribb read *Sakamano Boddo.* Göbl and MacDowall read the legend with the seated figure as *Metrayo Boydo.* Depending on the die variety, Cribb reads *Metrago Boudo* (IIA), *Metraga B(o)oudo* (IIB, C), or *Metrayo Boddo.*

7 Judging from the number of dies that can be counted in the extant coins (at least twenty, probably more), some 150,000 pieces might have been struck (MacDowall, "Development of Buddhist Symbolism," 186).
8 MacDowall, "Development of Buddhist Symbolism," 187.
9 Cribb, "Re-examination of Buddha Images," 65.
10 Cribb's text occasionally refers to a Class III, especially when comparing the Buddhas on copper (then suddenly in Class II) with the Maitreyas on copper (then in Class III).
11 E.g., Cribb in Errington and Cribb, *Crossroads of Asia,* 200.
12 Cribb, "Re-examination of Buddha Images," 67.
13 E.g., on the reverse of a copper *tetradrachma* of Vima Kadphises. British Museum, Göbl 1984, series 762, no. 22, as illustrated by Cribb, "Shiva Images," fig. C3.
14 Cribb, "Re-examination of Buddha Images," 64.
15 Bussagli, "The problem of Kaniṣka," 47.
16 Cribb, "Re-examination of Buddha Images," 69.
17 Carter, "Consideration of Some Iconographic Details of Buddha Images," 219.
18 Ibid., 227.
19 References in Errington and Cribb, *Crossroads of Asia,* 190-92.
20 Buddha of *bhikṣu* Bala found at Sarnath; Harle, *Art and Architecture of the Indian Subcontinent,* 62, fig. 42.
21 Perhaps more clearly than in the Gandhāran narrative relief illustrated by Robert Brown in "God on Earth," 75, fig. 4.
22 Anna Maria Quagliotti has discussed and illustrated such narrative scenes in "The Buddha, the Solar Disk and the Cosmic Tree," 73-105.
23 Cribb, "Re-examination of Buddha Images," 61.
24 I thank Joe Cribb for showing me coins, coin casts, and photographs of the Buddha and Maitreya coins at the British Museum in April 1999 and for sharing his views on their iconography.
25 Sculptures from Mathurā are discussed and illustrated by J.P. Vogel in *La Sculpture de Mathurā,* pl. 26a (seated Śākyamuni); pl. 35b (standing bodhisattva); pl. 39a (Indra). Herbert Härtel, in "The Concept of the Kapardin Buddha Type of Mathurā," 667-68, rejected the identification of such a sideward gesture as *abhayamudrā* and preferred to describe it as a hand in *vyavṛtta* position that expresses "addressing an audience" rather than "removing fear."
26 Mitchener, *Ancient and Classical World,* 416.
27 Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts of the Kushans,* 146, fig. 3; Czuma, *Kushan Sculpture,* 112-13, fig. 43.
28 Cribb, "Kaniṣka's Buddha Image Coins Revisited," 151-89.
29 Ibid., 157.
30 Tanabe, *Silk Road Coins.* Unfortunately, I have not been able to gain access to this work.
31 Cribb, "Kaniṣka's Buddha Image Coins Revisited," 157-58.
32 Ibid., 162.
33 Cribb did refer to this as a new study in preparation on the relationship between the coin designs and contemporary sculpture. "Its main focus is on the variations of style and prototype exhibited by the coin design"; ibid., n. 43.
34 Kim, *Future Buddha Maitreya,* 88.
35 Cribb, "Kaniṣka Buddha's coins – Official Iconography," 80.
36 Lohuizen-de Leeuw, "New Evidence with Regard to the Origin of the Buddha Image," 400.

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